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VI.

FRANCE SEEKS A CLOSER POSSESSION OF THE OHIO—COLONIAL PLANS
TO THWART IT.

THE country now included within the boundaries of Ohio had indeed a sparse Indian population at the opening of the year 1748. There were a few Shawanees at the mouth of the Scioto river and a small number of Wyandots on Sandusky bay. Upon the waters of the Muskingum, also, those Wyandots who had journeyed eastward as far as Logstown were now located along with others; and up the Tuscarawas there were a few Ottawa wigwams. Quickly, however, as we shall presently see, the Delawares, in small parties seated themselves in several places in what is now southeastern Ohio, migrating from the eastward; while the Miamis soon occupied, from their country beyond, the

valleys of the Great Miami and Little Miami.

There was, of course, not a civilized settlement, either upon the streams flowing northward into Lake Erie or southward into the Ohio. The country, however, was pretty well known; for traders, both English and French, had crossed, and were still crossing it, in various directions; * and up the Maumee, families had passed, in moving to the villages upon the Wabash, and to those of the Illinois. French soldiers,

* As to the English traders generally, in 1749, their character and numbers, and the competition between those of Pennsylvania and Virginia, see Goodman's 'Journal of Captain Trent,' pp. 24, 25, and Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' Vol. I, pp. 42, 43.

too, had made their way up and down the same stream. The governor of Canada had correct ideas of this region; so, too, those of several of the English provinces.

That a person living east of the mountains should form a design of effecting settlements beyond them was a very natural result of the knowledge that had come to be quite generally disseminated as to the trans-Alleghany country—that person was Thomas Lee, one of his majesty's council in Virginia. This was in 1748. With a view of carrying out his plans, Mr. Lee associated himself with twelve other persons in Virginia and Maryland, and with Mr. Hanbury, a merchant in London. These men formed an association called "The Ohio Company." A petition was presented to the English king in behalf of this company, which was approved, and five hundred thousand acres of land were directed by him in March, 1749, to be granted its members upon terms quite to their wishes.

But settlements alone was not the consummation they sought; they would carry on trade with the western Indians on a large scale. Hitherto the trade with the Indians upon the Alleghany and the Ohio had been mostly in the hands of the Pennsylvanians. The company conceived that they might derive an important advantage over their competitors in this trade, from the water communication of the Potomac and the eastern branches of the Ohio, whose headwaters were not far from each other. The lands granted to the

company were to be chiefly taken on the south side of the Ohio river, between the Monongahela and the Great Kanawha rivers. The privilege was reserved, however, by the company, of embracing a portion of the lands on the north side of the Ohio, if it should be deemed expedient. Two hundred thousand acres were to be selected immediately, and to be held for ten years free from quit rent or any tax to the king, on condition that the company should, at their own expense, seat one hundred families on the lands within seven years, and build a fort and maintain a garrison sufficient to protect the settlement.

This was a direct subversion, on part of the English government, of territory claimed by France, and she aroused herself to protect her interests in the valley of the Ohio. Louisiana—the "Louisiana" of La Salle—was to be invaded not only by an English company engaged in the fur trade but by a settlement of Englishmen to be protected by an English fort. These plans must be thwarted. But it is evident that the French government did not resolve to enforce their right to the Ohio valley until the action of the English king in granting lands to the Ohio company awakened them fully to the great danger which threatened their possessions beyond the Alleghanies.

At this date, the Marquis de la Galissonnière was governor of Canada. "To drive back intruders and vindicate French rights in the valley of the Ohio," he sent Céloron de Bienville

thither in the summer of 1749.* It was the upper half of the valley that La Galissonière seemed anxious about ; for this territory was what was now, seemingly, very ardently coveted by the English. "The country west of the great mountains is the centre of the British dominions," was the declaration made at the English court ; and this country was now for the first time to be visited by a French agent, expressly to renew their possession by monuments and inscriptions. To the westward of the present state of Ohio, France had then but a poor show of occupation : A small wooden fort at the head of the Maumee, two on the Wabash and one on the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan were all, until the Illinois country was reached.

Under Céloron went one captain, eight subaltern officers, six cadets, one chaplain, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and a band of about thirty Indians, there being as many Iroquois as Abinakis. They left La Chine on the fifteenth of June, 1749, reaching the southern shore of Lake Erie where Portland, in the present county of Chautauqua, New York, now stands, on the sixteenth of July.† A portage of a little over eight miles brought them, on the twenty-second, to

the head of Chautauqua lake ; once there, and they were on the headwaters of the Ohio. Floating down the Cone-wango, called by Céloron "the river of Chatakuin," from the mouth of that lake to the Alleghany, which he reached on the twenty-ninth, and which he calls the Ohio—the Alleghany and Ohio being taken as one,—Céloron at once proceeded to the work in hand—a renewal of possession of the country. His men were drawn up in order ; Louis XV. was proclaimed lord of all that region ; the arms of France, stamped on a sheet of tin, were nailed to a tree ; a plate of lead was buried at its foot ; and the notary of the expedition drew up a formal act of the whole proceeding. This *procès-verbal* reads, when translated, as follows :

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, we, Céloron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain commanding a detachment sent by order of Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonière, governor-general of New France, on the Beautiful river, otherwise called Oyo [Ohio], accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, buried at the foot of a red oak, on the southern bank of the River Oyo and Kanaaigon [Conewango], a leaden plate with this inscription thereon engraved : "In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV, King of France. We, Céloron, commander of the detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonière, governor-general of New France, to re-establish peace in some villages [meaning Indian villages] of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio [Alleghany] and the Kanaaigon [Conewango] the twenty-ninth of July, for a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said River Ohio [the Alleghany and Ohio being considered as one] and of all those which fall into it, and of all the territories on both sides as far as the source of the said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have possessed them, or shall have possessed them, and as they are maintained therein by arms and by treaties, and especially by those of

* Aware of these designs [of the Ohio Company], France anticipated England."—Bancroft.

† For the full particulars as given in Céloron's Journal, of his journey from La Chine to this point, see 'Catholic Historical Researches' (October, 1885), Vol. II, (No. 2), pp. 62-65. "The 16th [of July, 1749] I arrived at the Portage of Chatakuin [Chautauqua]," are Céloron's words when translated.

Ryswick, Utrecht and of Aix-la-Chapelle. We have, moreover, affixed to a tree the arms of the king.

"In testimony whereof, we have drawn up and signed the present written record. Made at the entrance of the Beautiful river [Ohio—meaning the Alleghany and Ohio as one], the twenty-ninth of July, 1749."*

This official statement was duly signed by all the officers of the detachment. It will be seen, therefore, that there was not to be a "renewal of possession," by Céloron, of the northern part of what is now the state of Ohio, nor of any other part of the country northwest of the Ohio river, save in the valley of that stream, strictly such; for this, surely, would be a sufficient barrier, could it be maintained, to English encroachments beyond the Alleghanies; besides, to the westward and northwestward there was some show of possession already in the few French posts, occupied by French soldiers, in that region.

After passing some Seneca villages and one of "Loups" (Wolf tribe of Delawares—Monseys) and Foxes, on the upper waters of the Alleghany, another leaden plate was deposited in the earth (having a like inscription as the first one) at a point one hundred and fifteen miles above what is now the city of Pittsburgh, "near an immense stone." Finally, after passing more Indian villages—Loups and Iroquois—Céloron reached, on the sixth of August, the Kittanning, called by the commander "Attiqué," where twenty-two wigwams were all empty, the owners—"Loups"—having fled. Six English traders,

* I have followed very closely in this *procès-verbal*, the translation of the Rev. A. A. Lambing, as given in "Catholic Historical Researches," Vol. II, pp. 69, 70.

with fifty horses and about one hundred and fifty bales of furs, were found a little further down, at an abandoned Shawanese village ("Chartier's town"), on the same day, and were warned to leave and not return at their peril. They promised to obey, but promises were cheap.

To the governor of Pennsylvania, M. de Céloron wrote on the same day :

Having been sent with a detachment into these parts by the Marquis de la Galissonière, governor-in-chief of New France, to reconcile together some Indian nations who had got embroiled on occasion of the war just concluded, I have been much surprised to find traders belonging to your government in a country to which England never had any pretensions. I have treated them with all possible courtesy, though I had a right to regard them as interlopers and vagabonds, their undertaking being contrary to the preliminaries of the peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, over fifteen months ago.

I hope, sir, that you will be so good as to prohibit that trade in future, as it is contrary to the treaties; and notify your traders that they will expose themselves considerably, should they return to this country; and that they must impute to nobody but themselves whatever misfortunes will overtake them. I know that our governor-in-chief would be very sorry to have recourse to any violence, but his orders are very strict not to suffer any foreign traders within this government.*

Passing, on the seventh, a "Loup" village, in which there were only three men, Céloron, on the same day, reached the Mingo village of Aliquippa, only to find the noted "queen" and her followers gone. Here, too, were six Eng-

* See "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," Vol. V, p. 425; also "Catholic Historical Researches," Vol. II, p. 108. Much discussion has been the result because writers upon Céloron's expedition have not observed that three letters were written by the commander to the Pennsylvania governor, of the same tenor, but at different places, and sent by different traders, who had been warned away by the writer.

lish traders who were duly ordered over the mountains and who as duly agreed to obey. Finally on the eighth of August, Céloron reached Chiningué, as called by the French (English, She-nango), but known ever since its settlement to the English traders he was so anxious to drive off, as Logstown, already mentioned.

One English and three French flags were flying over Logstown when Céloron came in sight of the place. Immediately the inhabitants lined the shore of the Ohio, greeting their visitors with a salute of musketry—not wholly welcome, as the guns were loaded with ball. The French commander threatened to fire on them if they did not cease. He then, with his followers, climbed the steep bank and encamped on the plateau above, betwixt the forest and the village, which consisted of fifty cabins, grouped in picturesque squalor, and tenanted by a mixed population, chiefly of Delawares, Shawanees, and Mingoes. Here, too, were gathered many fugitives from the deserted towns above, who had fled hither on the nearing of their villages by Céloron from up the Alleghany. The chiefs, about five o'clock in the evening, accompanied by thirty or forty braves, spoke to Céloron, welcoming him to their village. "It is a long time," said their leader, "since we had the pleasure of seeing the French in our village. We see you here with pleasure. You must have noticed by the flags which you have seen here that our heart is entirely French. The young men, without perceiving the consequences, erected the

one [the English flag] which displeased you. As soon as we knew it, you saw it fall. It was only put up for show, and to divert the young folks, without once thinking that the matter would displease you."

The reply of Céloron was in substance that the English flag displeased him; he had only come to speak of good things, which he would explain on the morrow. Céloron feared a night attack. His camp was encircled by a ring of sentries; the officers walked the rounds until morning; a part of the men were kept under arms, and the rest ordered to sleep in their clothes. Céloron's interpreter, Chabert de Joncaire, discovered, through some women of his acquaintance, that an attack was intended. Whatever the danger may have been, the precautions of the French averted it.

On the ninth of August, Céloron said to the assembled chiefs, in effect, that he came not to their village to make war upon its inhabitants.* On the

* His speech is given in full in his journal. See Lambing's translation in 'Catholic Historical Researches,' Vol. II, p. 132. The one given in N. Y. Col. Documents, Vol. VI, p. 533, is entirely different; and, with the answer of the savages, is as follows:

"Children! We are once more come to see you; and further, we are to let you know that we are to come next spring and trade with you. We are now going down the river in order to whip home some of our children—that is, the Miamis and Wyandots—and to let them know that they have no business to trade or traffic with the English. Further, children, we desire you may hunt this summer and fall and pay the English their debts; for we will not suffer them to come here and trade after next winter."

The chiefs gave the French to understand that the land was theirs, and that while there was any Indi-

next day, he delivered a message from Monsieur, the Marquis de la Galissonnière, "to the nations of Chiningué (Logstown)," the substance of which was as follows:

Through the love I bear you, my children, I send you Monsieur de Céloron to open your eyes to the designs of the English against your lands. The establishments they mean to make and of which you are certainly ignorant, tend to your complete ruin. They hide from you their plans, which are to settle here and drive you away, if I let them. As a good father who tenderly loves his children, and though far away from them bears them always in his heart, I must warn you of the danger which threatens you. The English intend to rob you of your country; and that they may succeed, they begin by corrupting your minds. As they mean to seize the Ohio, which belongs to me, I send to warn them to retire.†

The answer made by the Indians was submissive enough. They heartily agreed that the English should be expelled, but they significantly replied: "You ought to bring with you traders to furnish us with what we need. If you have pity for us, let us have the English so that they may render us the assistance which is necessary until spring-time. You see in what an unfortunate plight we shall be, if you do not show us this kindness." They assured Céloron that all the nations in-

ans in those parts they would trade with their brothers, the English. As for their pretending to whip home the Miamis and Wyandots that fall and sending their brothers, the English, home from trading with them the next spring, they looked on that as a jest. They desired them to consider the consequences that must attend a proceeding of that kind; for, to separate them from their brothers, the English, would be like cutting a man in two halves and then expect him to live."

† The entire message (which is here much abbreviated) may be found translated in 'Catholic Historical Researches,' Vol. II, pp. 133, 134.

habiting the Ohio would go down the next spring to hear what the governor had to say to them. As to ten traders that were then in the town, they begged that they might stay a little longer, since the goods they brought were necessary to them. But Céloron ordered them all to retire, and this they agreed to do. "We, Céloron, captain, knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, commanding a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonnière, governor-in-chief of New France," wrote the French commander, "have, on the banks of the Beautiful river [Ohio], summoned the Englishmen, whom we have found in an Indian town [Logstown], situated on the bank of the Beautiful river, to retire with all their effects and baggage to New England on pain of being treated as interlopers and rebels in case of refusal, to which summons they have answered that they were going to start for Philadelphia, their country, with all their effects."

"When the council was finished," says Céloron, "I had the presents brought forward that I had destined for them [the Indians]. They were considerable enough. They were much flattered by them."

Leaving Logstown, Céloron and his party passed down the Ohio; but, at not a great distance below the mouth of Beaver river, he fell in with two pirogues laden with packages of furs and manned by four Englishmen. All that the French commander could get out of them was that they were on their way from the mouth of the Scioto river, whence they had set out twenty-five

days previous; the trouble was, there was no one to interpret for either English or French. Céloron soon crossed what is now the western boundary line of Pennsylvania. At a point near, it is conjectured, where the city of Wheeling, West Virginia, now is, another leaden plate was buried on the thirteenth of August. The expedition then proceeded down the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum, where, on its right bank, at the junction of that stream with the Ohio, and opposite where Marietta now stands, a fourth plate was buried—the first one on Ohio soil. Céloron describes the place as at the foot of a maple tree, which forms a triangle with a red oak and elm tree, at the mouth of the river "Jenuagueukanan" [now Muskingum], and on its western bank. This was on the fifteenth of August, 1749.* On the eighteenth still another—the fifth—plate of lead was deposited in the earth, this time at the foot of an elm on the south bank of the Ohio, and on the east bank of the "Chinoudaista," now known as the Great Kanawha.†

At the mouth of the Scioto they came to the Shawanese village to which Peter Chartier had fled four years previous.‡

This leaden plate was found, in 1798, by some boys.

† This plate was also recovered, being found in March, 1846, by a boy while playing on the margin of the river.

‡ By an inadvertence, in our last article, in the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. V, (February, 1887), Peter Chartier is credited with having been the founder of this Indian village, in 1745, when, in fact, it had been in existence a number of years before his arrival.

Here the expedition remained from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth of August. A party of English traders living here were warned off by Céloron; but he did not feel strong enough to attempt coercive measures.

Céloron reached the mouth of the Little Miami on the twenty-seventh of August, up which stream, at no great distance, lived a small band of Miamis,§ whose chief was called "Baril," having with them two cabins of Senecas (Mingoies). The Miamis and one of the Mingoies, at Céloron's request, joined his expedition, but only for a limited time, to go to the next Miami village.

On the last day of August the detachment arrived at the "Rivière à la Roche" (Rock river), known to the English afterward as the "Big Miami," because of Miami Indians having previously located upon its waters; and here was buried the last of the leaden plates, "on the point formed by the intersection of the right bank of the Ohio with the left bank of the Rock river ['Great Miami'], August 31, 1749." So what is now the state of Ohio had then buried in her soil two "leaden" evidences of the claim of France to the possession of the country; but, as the sequel shows, had these and the other four evidences been of refined gold, it would not have availed to save to that power the valley of the "Beautiful River."

The expedition now bade farewell to the Ohio—"the river so little known to

§ Upon the map accompanying the journal of George Washington to French Creek in 1753, printed the next year in Williamsburg, Virginia, a Miami village is marked at the mouth of the Little Miami.

the French, and unfortunately too well known to the English," as one of the party expressed it—directing its course up the Great Miami. For thirteen days Céloron and his men toiled against the shallow current of the stream when they reached a village of the Miami Indians, lately built—their chief being the "Demoiselle" as he was called by the French. This village was at first known to the English as the Twightwee or Tawightwi (that is Miami) town, afterwards called by them "Pickawillany."^{*}

It was located on the northwest side of the Great Miami, just below the mouth of what is now called Loramie creek, in Johnston prairie, as at present named, in Washington township, Miami county, Ohio, a mile or more south of the Shelby county line.[†] Céloron, before leaving Canada, had learned of the movement of the Demoiselle, with a party of Miamis, to Rock river (the Great Miami, as now known), and his instructions were if possible to induce that chief (called by the English "Old Britain") and his band to leave their new abode and return to the country they had recently left, where English influence was not paramount.

* There was a tribe of the Miamis known to the French as "Picqualinees," which word was changed by the English to "Pickawillamies;" and as these (many of them) had settled here, it was called as above, "Pickawillany," or simply "Picks-town," sometimes "Picts-town;"—the inhabitants (as well as the tribe) being known as "Picts." These "Picqualinees" were the Miamis proper.

† This location has frequently been confounded with that of "Lorimer's house" or "store;" afterward the site of "Fort Lorimie." The latter was sixteen miles distant from the former, up Loramie creek.

The burden of Céloron's speeches at this last village, was that the Demoiselle and his band should at once leave the Miami river and return to their old home. The crafty chief promised to do so in the coming spring—"they kept always saying," said Céloron, in his journal, "and assuring me that they would return thither next spring." It is needless to say that the Indians did not move. They afterward sent the following to all the governors of the English provinces over the mountains :

Last July [September, 1749], about two hundred French and thirty-five French Indians came to the Miami village in order to persuade them to return back to the French settlements [forts] whence they came, or if fair means would not prevail, they were to take them away by force; but the French finding that they were resolved to adhere to the English, and perceiving their numbers to be great, were discouraged from using any hostile measures, and began to be afraid lest they should themselves be cut off. The French brought them a present consisting of four half barrels of powder, four bags of bullets, and four bags of paint, with a few needles and a little thread, which they refused to accept of; whereupon the French and their Indians made the best of their way off for fear of the worst, leaving their goods scattered about. But, at the time of their conference, the French upbraided the Indians for joining the English, and more so for continuing in their interest, who had never sent them any presents nor even any token of their regards for them.

Céloron's account of the reception of his presents differs from the Indians.' "I showed them magnificent presents on part of Monsieur the general to induce them to return to their villages, and I explained to them his invitations," says the French commander. And he adds that they carried away the presents—"where they assembled to deliberate on their answer." This was probably the truth.

The French commander found at the Demoiselle's town two hired men belonging to English traders, and these he obliged to leave the place before he would speak to the savages.

Céloron, after remaining at this Miami village a week to recruit and prepare for the portage to the waters of the Maumee, broke up his camp, and, having burned his battered canoes, and obtained some ponies, he set out on his overland journey to the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph rivers, the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana. The distance was estimated by him at fifty leagues, or one hundred and twenty miles, and five and a half days were allowed for the journey. Had the water in the rivers been high, Céloron could have paddled up Loramie creek sixteen miles, then a short portage would have taken them to the waters of the St. Mary's, down which he could have floated to the head of the Maumee; but in August or September this was impracticable. He reached the French post at that point on the twenty-fifth of September, where he found "M. de Raimond" in command. The latter and his men were shivering with ague—a disease, it may be said, still clinging to the region of the Maumee.

On the twenty-sixth, the day after his arrival at the French post, Céloron had a conference with Cold Foot, chief of the Miamis, who resided near the fort, and some other savages of note, when he rehearsed to them in the presence of the French officers of his detachment and of M. de Raimond, what he had said at the village of the Demoiselle and

the answer he had received. Thereupon Cold Foot said: "I hope I am deceived, but I am sufficiently attached to the interests of the French to say that the Demoiselle is a liar!" And he added significantly: "It is the source of all my grief to be the only one who loves you, and to see all the nations of the south let loose against the French." From the French fort Céloron made his way by water to Montreal, which he reached on the tenth of November.

Céloron's conclusions as to the state of affairs upon the Ohio are too important not to be mentioned in this connection. "All I can say is," he declared, "that the nations of these localities are very badly disposed towards the French, and are entirely devoted to the English. I do not know in what way they could be brought back." "If our traders," he added, "were sent there for traffic, they could not sell their merchandise at the same price that the English sell theirs, on account of the many expenses they would be obliged to incur." Trade then—traffic with the Indians—was the secret spring stimulating activity on part of the French officials.* How was it with the English? We shall see.

* The principal published authorities, in English, to be consulted as to Céloron's expedition are 'Catholic Historical Researches,' Vols. II and III; Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' Vol. I; Marshall, in 'Magazine of American History,' Vol. II; Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Vol. V; and New York Colonial Documents, Vol. VI. Father Bonnecamp, "a Jesuit and great mathematician," accompanied Céloron; he kept a journal, in the French language of course, which has not yet been translated into English. Upon his return, he drew up a map of the route taken by the expedition, which has been sev-

The governor of Pennsylvania being soon advised of the presence of Céleron upon the waters of the Ohio, dispatched George Croghan, in August, with a message to the Indians there to notify them of the cessation of arms between England and France, for the treaty of peace had been signed on the seventh of October, 1748, and to inquire of them the reason for "the march of M. de Céleron with two hundred French soldiers through their country." Céleron's detachment had passed Logstown before Croghan reached there. After delivering his message to the Indians he inquired what the French commander said to them. Their reply was that he said he had only come to visit them and see how they were clothed; for their father, the governor of Canada, was determined to take great care of all his children settled on the Ohio, and he desired they would turn away all the English traders from amongst them; for their father would not suffer them to trade there anymore, but would send traders of his own, who would trade with them on more reasonable terms than the English.

Croghan then asked the Indians if they really thought that it was the intention of the French to come at that time. They answered, "yes;" they believed the French not only wanted to drive the English traders off that they might have the trade to them-
eral times published. It was the first map, probably, ever drawn up, giving a representation approaching correctness of the Alleghany and upper Ohio—that is, of the first-named below the mouth of Conewango creek, and of the last-mentioned above the mouth of the Great Miami.

selvives, but they had also a further intention, indicated by their burying iron [leaden] plates, with inscriptions on them, in the mouth of every remarkable creek, of stealing their country from them. But the Indians declared they would consult the Six Nations as to how they would prevent them from defrauding them of their land. Croghan, upon his return, duly reported what he had heard.

We left the Ohio company, in 1748, with simply a grant of a large number of acres of land to its members, authorized by the king of England, nothing as yet having been accomplished by them towards the objects proposed by their organization, beyond securing this concession. The first steps taken by the company were to order Mr. Hanbury, their agent in London, to send over for their use two cargoes of goods suited to the Indian trade, amounting in the whole to four thousand pounds sterling; one cargo to arrive in November, 1749, the other in March following. They resolved also that such roads should be made and houses built as would facilitate the communication from the head of navigation on the Potomac river across the mountains to some point on the Monongahela. As no attempt at establishing settlements west of the mountains could safely be made without some previous arrangement with the Indians, the company petitioned the government of Virginia to invite them to a treaty; but none was held, though the company's agent secured the privilege of making what roads were needed.

Pennsylvania traders, hearing of the purposes of the Ohio company, at once concluded there would arise a competition between them and the company not at all desirable ; so they spared no time in influencing the Indians upon the Ohio to believe that there was danger ahead should the Virginians build a fort west of the mountains, as they now proposed. Thereupon, Thomas Lee addressed Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania. "His majesty," said Lee, "has been graciously pleased to grant to some gentlemen and merchants of London, and some of both sorts, inhabitants of this colony, a large quantity of land west of the mountains. The design of this grant, and one condition of it, is to erect and garrison a fort to protect our trade [from the French] and that of any of our neighboring colonies, and by fair, open trade to engage the Indians, in affection to his majesty's subjects, to supply them with what they want, so that they will be under no necessity to apply to the French, and to make a very strong settlement on the frontiers of this colony, all which his majesty has approved and directed the governor here to assist the said company in carrying their laudable design into execution. But your traders have prevailed with the Indians on the Ohio to believe that the fort is to be a bridle for them, and that the roads which the company are to make are to let in the Catawbas upon them to destroy them. The Indians, naturally jealous, are so possessed with the truth of these insinuations, that they threaten our agents if they survey or make those roads that they had given leave to make. Because of this, the carrying the king's grant into execution is at present impracticable ; yet these are the lands purchased of the Six Nations at the treaty of Lancaster. I need not say any more to prevail with you to take the necessary means to put a stop to these mischievous practices of those traders. We are informed there are measures designed by the court of France that will be mischievous to these colonies, which will in prudence oblige us to unite and not divide the interest of the king's subjects on the continent." Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania promised to take active measures to detect the authors of the dangerous "insinuations" mentioned by Lee ; but, at the same time, suggested that the western bounds of the province of Pennsylvania ought to be determined "in order to assure ourselves that none of the lands contained in that grant are within the limits of this province." Thus early was foreshadowed the boundary troubles between Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The first half of the year 1750 brought with it only an increased assurance of the Ohio Indians (and of those upon the Miami) being true to the interests of the English, in so far as trade was concerned. The governor of Pennsylvania, James Hamilton, received messages from them and he expressed himself as being "truly sensible of the importance of the friendship of these Indians." On the nineteenth of January, 1750, in a message to the assembly of that province, he said :

The money voted at your last session as a present to the Indians at Ohio has been laid out to the best advantage in goods proper to the occasion. A great part of them has been some time since transported over the Susquehanna and there securely lodged in order of their being carried more early in the spring to the people for whom they are designed; the remainder is yet in town [Philadelphia] for want of carriages to transport them thither, but shall be sent up as soon as the roads will permit. But as all the money given for this service was invested in goods and no provision made that I know of to pay the charge of their conveyance to Ohio, I must desire you to think of this and provide accordingly. The sum demanded for their transportation is two hundred and fifty pounds, which appears to me to be very high; but, by all the inquiry I have been able to make, I do not find I can get it done for less by any person in whom I can place confidence.

The governor also, on the ninth of February, informed the assembly that he had sent Conrad Weiser, who was then Indian agent, over the Susquehanna to agree to the carriage of the goods over the mountains.

While Pennsylvania was thus engaged in the laudable work of urging forward presents to conciliate and keep in their interest the Ohio Indians, matters near Pickawillany assumed a serious aspect so far as the relation between the French and the English were concerned. In May, Morris Turner and Ralph Killgore, hired servants of one John Frazier of the county of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, an Indian trader, were trading for him among the *Miamis*, to whom they had sold a large quantity of goods and had received in return more skins than they could carry on their horses at one time. After having delivered one parcel of their skins at Alleghany, as they were returning for a second with unloaded horses, and had got within twenty-five

miles of Pickawillany, seven Indians came into their cabin a little before sunset, received victuals from them and dressed and eat it and behaved like friends. This was on the twenty-sixth of the month. A short time after satisfying their appetites, the savages, as if in the way of curiosity, took up the guns belonging to the two men and a tomahawk and asked them for knives to cut their tobacco. As soon as these were given them they seized both Turner and Killgore, tied their hands with ropes and told them they must carry them to their fathers, the French, and, accordingly, they took them along with them, pinioning them in the day time and fastening them at night with ropes to the ground. They did not go the direct road to Detroit, but went round-about ways; so that they did not reach the place until the expiration of sixteen days. All the way they were very inquisitive of their two prisoners about the courses of the road and of the waters between the Miami country and the Indian towns upon the Ohio and Alleghany, and they made the two men draw drafts of the roads and streams. When they had reached a point about a mile from the fort at Detroit, they unpinioned their two prisoners and then marched them into town. This, we may premise, was the first hostile act—the first actual war-demonstration of the French (for the savages were acting under instructions of the latter) in the Seven Years' conflict—the contest for supremacy in the valley of the Ohio between France and England.

On the twenty-fifth of May, 1750, Gov-

ernor Hamilton laid before the provincial council a letter he had just received from the governor of New York, inclosing one from Colonel William Johnson, Indian agent. This last letter set forth in strong terms the apprehensions the Indians of the Six Nations were under, as well on their own account as in behalf of their friends and allies settled on the Alleghany and Ohio rivers, from the threats of the French of Canada, who, they said, were actually preparing to attack them that summer with a great force of Frenchmen and Indians in their dependence. This was correct, perhaps, in all things except as to the time. There had been no preparations looking to actual hostilities at once—it was only preparation for what might be a storm ; but how soon a forward movement would be made, probably no one could even conjecture. In taking the two traders prisoners, there was no overt act of war as the French reasoned ; for these men had no right thus to trespass upon the French soil ; however, this was a one-sided view of the matter. It was really a hostile act—the commencement, as we have already premised, of actual war. Mr. Andrew Montour, the interpreter to the Ohio Indians employed by Pennsylvania, who had just arrived from over the mountains, brought news that the Indians there were upon their guard lest the French should come, but they did not generally believe there was any immediate danger.

Meanwhile, the Miami Indians, by message, assured the Ohio Indians and the English of their firm determination to no longer have anything to do with

the French. "We," said they, in figurative language, "who are now one with you, desire that the road which has lately been opened between us, being a new one, and therefore rough, blind and not well cleared, may now be made plain, and that everything which may hinder the passage may be removed out of it so effectually as not to leave the least obstruction. And we desire this may be done, not only as far as where you live [they were now addressing the Indians upon the Ohio and Alleghany], but beyond you to the places where our brethren the English live, that their traders, whom we desire to see among us and to deal with us for the future, may travel with us securely and with ease." As George Croghan was, during the summer, to go to the Ohio, the Indians there desired he would bring a return message from the English for the Miami Indians.

"I have received," said Governor Hamilton to the Pennsylvania assembly, on the eighth of August, "two or three different messages from the Miamis. In their last they tell me that they have withstood the solicitations of the French ; and as a proof of their attachment to us have refused their presents, intimating at the same time that, as they take nothing from them, they would be pleased to have some testimony of our regard. And I really am of the opinion that since so large an addition is made to the trade of this province by their means, it would be for his majesty's as well as for the country's service, if a small present was sent to them by some persons of character who go to trade in

those parts. When Mr. Weiser left the Ohio [in the fall of 1748], he committed several matters of consequence to Andrew Montour, finding that the Indians esteemed him and placed great confidence in him. This gave him a sort of public character, which has put him to some trouble and expense, as you will see by his accounts, which I have ordered to be laid before you and which have been perused and allowed to be true by Mr. Weiser. I therefore recommend it to you, that you will be pleased to make Mr. Montour a suitable recompence for his services. The Indians of those parts are not of the most prudent behavior, and therefore it seems necessary there should be always among them some discreet person who, by his influence, may be able to regulate their conduct and keep them firmly attached to the British interest, more especially at a time when the French leave no means unattempted to alienate their affection from us, and to exclude us from any share of the benefit of trading with them. Such a person I take Mr. Montour to be, and as he resides at Ohio he will, I am persuaded, upon a proper recompence, be always ready and willing to serve this province to the utmost of his power."

At this time a noted trader with the Indians was James Lowry of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. About the middle of August, 1750, some of his men came in from the woods bringing with them a Frenchman. He had been a trader, but had been put in irons and confined for disobeying the orders of the commander of the fort at the head of the

Maumee. However, by the assistance of his friends he made his escape to the Miamis that were in friendship with the English, some of whom were for putting him to death as a spy; others would have sent him back, and some were for delivering him to Lowry, "to be kept till the man that killed his brother and the Indian, by setting fire to the powder, be delivered up." This Frenchman reported that the French traders complained to the governor of Canada that the English traders had bought all their debts of the Indians, and that unless he prevented the English from trading so far back from their homes that they (the French traders) must quit the trade. Upon this representation, the governor had ordered the hatchet to be given the French Indians to strike the English, which was done before he escaped. Such was the information he gave; but that the "French Indians" had actually commenced hostilities by killing English traders was erroneous. It was estimated, at this date by Governor Hamilton, that the Mingoos—refugees of the Six Nations—the Shawanees and Delawares, "on the branches of the Mississippi," with their new allies, the Wyandots and Miamis, numbered fifteen hundred if not two thousand warriors, who were "now upon the balance," but who, the governor thought, might be retained in the English interest.

"The several nations of Indians about Ohio," says Isaac Norris on the nineteenth of October, speaking for the Pennsylvania assembly, "appear to us at this time most immediately to merit

and stand in need of our assistance ; and as the governor has informed us that the messengers [Montour and Croghan] appointed to carry the present provided by the last assembly for the Miamis are not yet set out on their journey, we have now concluded to make an addition to that present and likewise to direct a present of larger value to be provided for the Shawaneese, Delawares, Wyandots and other nations settled near them, in order to confirm them in their friendship with us."

Before the close of October, both Turner and Killgore, the two who had been captured by the savages and taken to Detroit, had reached Philadelphia, having escaped from the French. They related that upon their arrival in Detroit, the commander of the fort sent them to a farmer's house about a mile from town, where they were made to reap wheat and hoe Indian corn, and work country work ; that, about six days after they were placed there, the Indians (Ottawas) who took them, came to see them, and treated them very contemptuously, flirting their fingers against their noses and saying they were dogs, and they were going for more of them ; that they remained in the farmer's house about three months when there arrived a new commandant at Detroit, M. de Céloron, "the same officer who, the year before had commanded a detachment of French soldiers sent to the Ohio with the design to intimidate those Indians [that is, the Ohio Indians] and the Miamis."

About three weeks before Turner and Killgore left the farmer's house, one of

the garrison, a French soldier, came to visit them along with two or three others who could speak English. This soldier told them that he was but just come to the fort, having been taken prisoner by the Catawbas, who carried him to Williamsburg, where he was treated very civilly and permitted to go home ; and that he came through Philadelphia and New York and was everywhere entertained much to his satisfaction. Hearing of Turner and Killgore being kept prisoners, he had come out to the farmer's house to see them. In confidence, he told them that in the spring an army of five hundred Frenchmen would march to the Ohio and either bring back the Shawaneese and Wyandots, or kill them ; and that they had offered one thousand dollars for the scalps of George Croghan and James Lowry ; imagining that, if they were taken off, as they had great influence with the Ohio Indians, they could easily gain over those Indians to themselves.

The late commander at Detroit, in departing for Canada, took Turner and Killgore along. In fourteen days they arrived at Niagara, where they found Joncaire, the same who went with Céloron on his expedition down the Ohio, now the head interpreter for the French at Quebec, conducting, as they were informed, a large present of goods to the Ohio, which lay on the bank of the Niagara, and which they believed if they were to be bought in Philadelphia could not cost less than fifteen hundred pounds. They also saw, at Niagara, eight or nine bateaux laden with bacon, peas and flour, which they were told

were to be stored in the magazine at Detroit for the use of the spring expedition.

During the course of the session of the Pennsylvania assembly at this time, the governor had several private conferences with the speaker and some of the principal members of the house on the state of Indian affairs. This ended finally in Governor Hamilton instructing Croghan on his reaching the Ohio to sound the Indians there as to their sentiments regarding the erection of a fort. Mr. Croghan and Andrew Montour, by the middle of November, had reached Logstown. "Yesterday," says he, in writing to the governor on the sixteenth,* "Mr. Montour and I got to this town, where we found thirty warriors of the Six Nations going to war against the Catawba Indians. They told us they saw Joncaire about one hundred and fifty miles up the Alleghany, at an Indian town, where he intends to build a fort, if he can get liberty from the Ohio Indians. He has five canoes loaded with goods, and is very generous in making presents to all the chiefs of the Indians that he meets with. He has sent two messages to this town, desiring the Indians here to go and meet him, and clear the road for him to come down the river; but they have paid so little regard to his message that they have not thought it worth while to send

him an answer as yet. We have seen but very few of the chiefs of the Indians, they being all out hunting; but those we have seen are of opinion that their brothers, the English, ought to have a fort on this river to secure the trade, for they think it will be dangerous for the traders to travel the roads for fear of being surprised by some of the French and French Indians as they expect nothing else but a war with the French next spring."

"At a town down this river," continued Croghan, "about three hundred miles [the Shawanese town at the mouth of the Scioto], where the chief of the Shawanese live, a party of French and French Indians surprised some of the Shawanese and killed a man and took a woman and two children prisoners. The Shawanese pursued them and took five Frenchmen and some Indians prisoners. The Miamis [upon the two Miami rivers], likewise have sent word to the French that if they can find any of their people, either French or French Indians on their hunting grounds, that they will make them prisoners. So I expect nothing else but a war this spring. The Miamis want to settle themselves somewhere up this [Ohio] river in order to be nearer their brothers, the English, for they are determined never to hold a treaty of peace with the French. Mr. Montour and I intend, as soon as we can get the chiefs of the Six Nations that are settled here together, to solicit them to appoint a piece of ground up this river to seat the Miamis on and kindle a fire for them, and if possible to remove the Shawanese up the river,

* The date of Croghan's letter as given by himself and copied into the Pennsylvania Colonial Records, is December 16, 1750. It should be November, as above. See next page of those Records (Vol. V, p. 497); also Gist's Journal in Pownall's 'Topographical Description'; and Mr. Croghan's 'Transactions,' in New York Colonial Documents, Vol. V, p. 268.

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Simeon Milb

which we think will be securing those nations more steady to the English interest.

"I hope the present of goods," added Croghan, "that is preparing for those Indians will be at this town some time in March [1751] next for the Indians. As they are now acquainted that there is a present coming, they will be impatient to receive it, as they intend to meet the French next spring between this and Fort Detroit; for they are certain the French intend an expedition against them then from that post. I hear the Wyandots are as steady and well attached to the English

interest as ever they were, so that I believe the French will make but a poor hand of those Indians. Mr. Montour takes a great deal of pains to promote the English interest amongst those Indians, and has a great sway amongst all those nations. If your honor has any instructions to send to him, Mr. [William] Trent will forward them to me. I will see them delivered to the Indians [that is, any message they may contain] in the best manner, that your honor's commands may have their full force with the Indians."

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

[To be continued.]

SIMEON MILLS.

THE subject of this sketch, one of the early settlers of Dane county, Wisconsin, was born in Norfolk, Litchfield county, Connecticut, on the fourteenth day of February, 1810. His father, Martin Mills, was the eldest son of Constantine Mills, a Revolutionary soldier. His mother was the daughter of Clement Tuttle, of Torringford, Connecticut, also a soldier of the Revolution. In 1811 his father removed to Ohio, and became one of the pioneer settlers in the dense forests of the Western Reserve, locating in the county of Ashtabula, where Simeon was brought up to the active labor of farming in a new country, receiving, at the same time, a good common school education. At the age

of twenty, he engaged for a short time in teaching a district school, but, soon procuring a situation in a store, abandoned teaching and was engaged in mercantile pursuits for several years thereafter.

On the twenty-first of May, 1834, Mr. Mills was married in Austinburg, Ohio, to Maria Louisa Smith, daughter of Church Smith, esq., of Berkshire county, Massachusetts. In the spring of 1835, Mr. Mills made his first journey west, going around the upper lakes on the steamer *Thomas Jefferson*, on her first trip to Chicago. In 1836 he visited Wisconsin, and upon the locating of the seat of government of that territory at the Four Lakes (Madison), determined

to make that his future home. In pursuance of this resolve, on the tenth of June, 1837, he located there, erected a small building of hewed logs, sixteen by eighteen feet, purchased a small stock of goods at Galena, Illinois, and opened the first store at the capital of Wisconsin.

In the spring of 1838, he returned to Ohio for his wife, who had remained behind until provision could be made that would at least afford shelter and some protection from inclement weather, reaching Madison again on the eighteenth of June, 1838. The journey was made by water to Milwaukee, and from there across the country by wagon, crossing Rock river at the site of the present city of Janesville. There was then no house, a distance of forty miles, between that place and Madison, and no roads or marks to point the way they should travel, except a few stakes that had been stuck up on the prairies and some trees which had been blazed by an exploring party the fall before. Thus beginning with Madison in its earliest infancy, Mr. Mills has made it his life-long home, raising a family of five children—two of whom are numbered with the dead. His oldest daughter, Florence Emeline, was married to Dr. Charles C. Hayes in 1859, and now resides in Hyde Park, Massachusetts. Arthur Constantine Mills, the only son living, was married to Helen Bennett, daughter of Thomas Bennett, esq., of Green Bay, in 1866, who, together with the youngest daughter, Genevieve, reside with their father in

Madison—their mother, as we shall presently see, having recently died.

In 1837, there was no mail or mail-route between Madison and Milwaukee, but, in the fall of that year Mr. Mills made a contract with the United States for carrying the mail between those points until the first of July, 1842. The difficulties of getting the mail through twice a week, with no houses between Madison and Aztalan, in what is now Jefferson county, and, at rare intervals, the remainder of the route—with streams and marshes unbridged and roads un-built—cannot be easily understood or appreciated by the present generation as they fly over the country with the speed of the wind, and talk with antipodes as to next-door neighbors. The task was accomplished, however, without the loss of a single trip during the life of the contract—a feat rarely performed at the present time, though the distance is spanned with iron and traveled by powerful locomotives.

On the twelfth day of August, 1837, Mr. Mills was appointed the first justice of the peace in Dane county; and he was, probably, when he received his commission, the only one between Dodgeville and Milwaukee. In 1839 Dane county was organized and he was elected one of the county commissioners and appointed clerk of the court, which latter office he held about nine years. He held the office of territorial treasurer at the time the state government was organized (1848), and was elected the first senator from Dane county. He was afterward renomin-

ated, but declined to run as candidate for a second term. In the year just mentioned he was appointed one of the regents of the University of Wisconsin and took an active part in the organization and commencement of the institution, purchasing its site and superintending the erection of its first buildings. In 1860 he was appointed one of the trustees of the State Hospital for the Insane, and was the general manager of affairs in and about the institution so long as he held that office.

Mr. Mills has been identified with public improvements in Madison, and contributed largely to the early prosperity of the city. He invested all his gains in real estate and the erection of buildings, making their care the principal business of his life. At the breaking out of the rebellion he took an active part in the enlistment of troops by extending material aid to the families of volunteers. He was appointed paymaster-general by Governor Alexander W. Randall, and, during the first year of the war, disbursed more than one and a half millions of dollars of the war funds of the state.

Mr. Mills is a man remarkable for quick perception, sound judgment, thorough self-reliance, great energy and unwavering perseverance. His knowledge is practical and his habits industrial and economical. He has aided in building schools, colleges and churches; and, in developing the resources of a new country, has encouraged his fellowman by precept and example to attain a higher civilization. In religion he claims to be orthodox, having

been early taught to believe "that God foreordained whatsoever comes to pass." He believes that the Creator and Ruler of the universe will provide and care for the future as for the past; and, having an abiding faith in the wisdom and benevolence of God, is satisfied to trust the hereafter entirely in His hands. He does not believe that Providence ever helps those that fail to help themselves, or that the intercessions of the creature with the Creator ever lifted the weight of a feather from the burdens we bear, or added a single grain to the product of the land. He often expresses the desire that he may leave the world no worse than he found it.

The wife of the subject of this notice, Mrs. Maria Louisa Mills, was born in Sandisfield, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, on the twenty-first day of May, 1815. When she was about twelve years of age her parents removed to Ohio, locating in Austinburg, Ashtabula county, where, as already mentioned, she resided at the time of her marriage. She died in Madison on the tenth day of June, 1884. She had often been heard to say, in speaking of her pioneer life, that she came to Madison to make the place her home, and not for one moment had she ever been home-sick or regretted the location she and her husband made. This remark well illustrates what were the strength of purpose and force of character of this pioneer. Full of life, animation and enterprise, she infused the same elements in the company in which she mingled. She had excellent mental attainments; her conversation was ever

ready and entertaining ; she was strictly domestic, industrious, frugal and retiring in her habits ; she never made any pretensions to publicity ; and, being a firm believer in Christianity, inculcated in her children a love for the

same principles. One so enshrined in the hearts of her family could not fail in having (what she certainly had) the esteem and regard of her neighbors and friends.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

HENRY CLAY.

THE man "whose voice enchain'd and wielded listening senates, and whose weaponless hand was mightier than the truncheon of generals or the scepter of monarchs," was born April 12, 1777, in a region of country called the "slashes," located in Hanover county, Virginia. This county has for its boundaries the North Anna, Pamunkey and Chickahominy rivers, streams all given historical interest by the late war.

Henry Clay's father was a Baptist minister of some talent, who died when his afterwards distinguished son was only five years old, leaving a widow in straitened circumstances with seven children.

While yet a young boy it was one of Henry's duties to take corn or wheat to a mill on the Pamunkey and have it ground into meal or flour ; so that about one hundred years ago, he, who afterwards came to be called "Prince of the Senate," might have been seen mounted astride a sack of corn, upon a horse which the rider guided with an old rope in lieu of bridle reins, making his way to mill over the hills of the Hanover "slashes."

When young Clay was about fifteen years of age he went to Richmond, Virginia, not far distant from the place of his birth, and clerked about one year in a retail dry goods store. After this he for a time served as assistant to a Mr. Tinsley, clerk of the high court of chancery. While acting in this capacity he attracted the attention of Chancellor George Wythe, then in his old age, a distinguished lawyer and noted man in Virginia, with whom both Jefferson and Madison read law. Wythe's fingers being stiffened with rheumatism, he made Clay his amanuensis, and, while performing this service, the young penman became interested in the formation of sentences and study of grammar. All the educational advantages Clay ever received were confined to the log school-houses of his native county. In 1797 he removed to Lexington, Kentucky, but previous to this, read law one year with ex-Governor Brooke of Virginia.

In his new home his legal studies were continued. During this period he one evening attended a debating society and listened attentively to the discussions.

Clay never had spoken in public, but just before the debate closed, he remarked to some one sitting by, that it seemed to him the subject was by no means exhausted; this observation was overheard by the chairman who thereupon called upon him for some remarks. Clay arose, much embarrassed, and began by saying: "Gentlemen of the jury;" this he repeated several times before he gained any degree of self-possession; finally, however, he became intent upon his theme and poured forth a torrent of unanswerable argument and burning eloquence, surprising everyone, himself among the rest.

In due time Clay was admitted to the bar, and speedily won distinction and secured a large and lucrative law practice.

In 1803 he was elected to the Kentucky legislature, where he soon took a leading position and was chosen speaker of the house of delegates. In 1806 Clay was selected to fill the unexpired term of General Adair, resigned, in the United States senate. In this body, too, his talents at once attracted attention. Returning to Kentucky, he again served his people in the state legislature.

In 1809 he for the second time was chosen to fill a fractional term in the national senate, this time made vacant by the resignation of a Mr. Thurston.

In 1811 the twenty years charter of the United States bank expired and this institution applied for a new one. The recharter was strongly opposed by Clay and defeated, though, five years

later, when the same question again came up for consideration, he as earnestly espoused the cause of the bank as he before had opposed it. In his judgment the circumstances in the two cases were entirely different. Clay's admirers claim this to have been the only great question upon which he ever changed his views.

In 1811 Clay was elected a representative from his congressional district, and, upon the assembling of the Twelfth congress, was promptly chosen speaker of the house. This case is unique in our history, no man before or since having been elected speaker without previous service in the house of representatives. But several causes conspired to secure Clay's election under these unusual circumstances. Among these were his brilliant service in the national senate; experience as presiding officer gained when speaker of Kentucky house of delegates; furthermore, at this period John Randolph was a turbulent factor in the house, whose anger the great majority of members dared not excite. And, as it had been Randolph's custom to transgress the rules of the house with impunity, it was believed Mr. Clay, with his great calmness, tact and will-power, would hold in check this erratic genius from Virginia.

At this period our relations with England were exceedingly complicated and war with that country was imminent. Clay was strongly in favor of war, and, when the house was in committee of the whole, made powerful appeals to that body for appropriations to put the

country on a war footing. He favored equipping an army, and was largely instrumental in setting on foot the measures for organizing and fitting out the powerful navy with which a little later were snatched those brilliant victories from the "mistress of the seas" — the greatest maratime power in the world.

Randolph was strenuously opposed to a declaration of war against England, and upon one occasion, immediately after the opening of the house, began a harrangue against the contemplated declaration. As there was no motion before the house, he was called to order, first by a member and then by the chair. From the course of the speaker he appealed to the house, but was promptly overruled. The chair then decided that whatever motion he wished to bring before the house must be put in writing. Again Randolph appealed to the house, and once more was overruled, and finally, upon putting his motion in regular form, the house refused to consider it. Randolph now flew into a great rage and came out in the public prints with an appeal to his constituents, charging that the right of speech on one of the most vital questions had been denied.

Clay replied in the most convincing manner, stating among other things that this controversy had definitely settled two principles. 1. That the house had the right, through its presiding officer, to know the motion which a member intending making before he discussed it at large. 2. It reserved to itself the

power of electing when it would consider any given motion.

On the nineteenth of June (1811), war was formally declared against Great Britain.

In the house Clay wielded his great influence in favor of the war and its vigorous prosecution. In 1814 he resigned the speakership to accept the position of commissioner to negotiate a treaty of peace with England. He met his colleagues, John Q. Adams, James A. Bayard, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin at Ghent, and acted a prominent part in terminating the war and securing honorable terms for his country. The treaty was signed December 24, 1814.

Upon Clay's return to Kentucky he was at once elected to congress, and as soon as the house convened was chosen speaker.

For ten years he remained in the house, and about 1818 earnestly advocated the recognition of the South American republics that were trying to throw off the Spanish yoke. In this direction Clay's first attempts were unsuccessful, but at each recurring session he persistently renewed his efforts, and finally, in 1822, his exertions were duly rewarded with success.

During the session of 1818-19, Missouri applied for admission as a slave state; not meeting with success, the application was renewed at the session of 1819-20. This action opened up the discussion of slavery in congress, and thus was engendered much bitter feeling between the opponents and supporters

of slavery. Finally Senator Thomas of Illinois proposed that Missouri be permitted to come in as a slave state, but that in the future slavery should not go north of the line thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and accordingly an act of congress with this intent was passed and became known as the "Missouri Compromise." This act was, however, only an initiatory step; Missouri had yet to frame her constitution, a certified copy of which she was required to lay before congress.

In June, 1820, the constitution of the proposed new state was drafted, and in it was a clause which provided that it should be the duty of her general assembly, "as soon as might be, to pass such laws as seem necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming into and settling within the limits of the state under any pretext whatever."

This extraordinary proposition of course excited the opponents of slavery. The press took it up, and by the time congress assembled the whole country was wrought up over the matter. The proposed constitution was laid before congress, and the senate at once voted for the admission of Missouri, but the house vigorously opposed any such action. The opponents of slavery urged that the obnoxious clause was in direct conflict with that provision of the constitution wherein it is ordained that "the citizen in each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states."

On the other hand, the pro-slavery advocates urged that the African race, bond or free, were not parties to our

political institutions; and that therefore negroes and mulattoes were not citizens within the meaning of the National constitution.

The opposing factions upon this question in congress got farther and farther apart, as time passed, and were so utterly hostile towards each other that anything like an agreement or compromise seemed wholly out of the question.

The Union seemed in imminent danger of dissolution, and the more conservative members of congress were much troubled over the situation. Finally, January 16, 1821, Clay, who had been detained at home by urgent private business, came to Washington and took his seat. The cooler heads came to him and urged that he do something in the interests of harmony.

Clay at once set about the task of pouring oil upon the troubled waters. He first moved the appointment of a committee of *thirteen*—the number of original states—hoping that there would be some charm in these figures that would appeal to the patriotism of the house. But the work of this committee came to naught, by reason of the house voting down their report, though the vote was close—eighty-three to eighty.

After waiting a few days, Clay moved for the appointment of another and larger committee—this time consisting of twenty-three members, the number of states then in the Union—to confer with a committee appointed for like purpose from the senate. It had been intended that the committee from the house should be elected by ballot, but such high regard was there among the

members for Clay's fairness, that he was requested to name twenty-two persons to serve with himself on this committee, and of the number so named, eighteen were elected the first ballot.

From the joint committee came a report, differing but little from that of the first committee, which declared in substance :

That the state (Missouri) shall never pass an act for the prevention of any person or persons coming to or settling in the said state who now are or may become citizens of any of the states of the Union. It was further provided that : " Nothing in this herein contained shall be so construed as to deter Missouri from exercising any right or power which can be constitutionally exercised by any of the original states."

Missouri in due time complied with the terms imposed, became a state, and the controversy for the time ended.

In 1824 Clay was a candidate for President of the United States. At that time there were in all four candidates in the field for this office. These were, besides Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and W. H. Crawford. Strange to say each of these was a member of the old Republican party, the legitimate successor of the anti-Federalist organization.

The Federal party had a few years before gone to pieces—had indeed little cohesion since the war of 1812. No one of the four candidates received a majority in the electoral college, and as a result the choice was thrown into the house of representatives. Clay having received the smallest

number of votes was debarred from entering the house, and Crawford, since his nomination, had been stricken with serious disease, so that in reality the contest narrowed down to a choice between Adams and Jackson. The former at the general election received the largest popular vote, and the latter in the electoral college received the highest ballot of any of the four contestants. Clay being still a member of the house, gave his vote and influence, which was great, to Adams, and he was elected. The friends of Jackson at once charged that Adams and Clay had before entered into a "coalition" by which Clay, with his well-known influence in the house, was to secure the election of the former and receive as his reward the appointment of secretary of state in the newly elected President's cabinet.

These charges were conclusively proven to be false, but the adherents of Jackson persisted in believing that their favorite was by this "unholy coalition," "bargain and sale," etc., cheated out of the Presidency in 1825. For more than twenty years Clay and Adams were hounded with these charges, suffered great annoyance therefrom, and in Clay's case they undoubtedly, in after years, prevented his political ferment.

As a matter of fact, Clay voted for Adams because he deemed him the most fit man for the high office, and for a like reason—special fitness—Adams, upon assuming the chief magistracy, called Clay to the portfolio of state. Another reason for Clay's

appointment to this place was doubtless the perfect harmony between himself and the President upon internal improvements and tariff. For nearly ten years Clay had had these questions especially near his heart.

In March, 1818, he made his first great speech in the house in favor of internal improvements. In the language of another, it was contemplated that "the government should construct a comprehensive system of roads and canals such as would have the effect of drawing together more closely every part of our country by promoting intercourse and improvements, and by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity." Railroads, the reader will bear in mind, were not yet in use.

In 1816 Clay made his first speech in favor of a protective tariff. Upon imported articles made by the pauper labor of Europe, he would levy enough tax or duty to enable the home manufacturer to meet, on equal terms, his foreign competitor. Thus, besides supplying the government with needed revenue, he would induce the capitalists to embark in various manufacturing enterprises. Moreover, he would stimulate the pride and patriotism of the consumer with the thought that he was making use of articles which his native soil furnished in crude form, and the enterprise and genius of his countrymen wrought and fashioned into desired shape.

Some years before entering Adams' cabinet, Clay had termed the internal improvements policy and protective

tariff the "American system." As President Adams and Clay were a unit on these questions, it is scarcely necessary to state that from March 4, 1825, till March 4, 1829, the period of Adams' incumbency of the chief magistrate's place, the "American system" received every possible encouragement from the executive branch of the government.

During this period the relations of the government with foreign nations were most amicable, and more treaties were effected with these than in the whole thirty-five years' previous history of the United States. Foreign powers, it would seem, had all at once come to recognize the importance of the young republic. While secretary of state, Clay succeeded in getting the czar of Russia to intercede with Spain for the independence of the South American provinces. These efforts were successful, and the provinces became independent states.

At the termination of Adams' administration, Clay retired to his farm, near Lexington, Kentucky. In 1831 he was elected to the United States senate. The tariff laws enacted by congress in 1827-8 were deemed specially odious by some southern states, particularly South Carolina. Some of the complainants from that state put their grievances in these words: "We exist as a member of the Union merely as an object of taxation. The northern and middle states are to be enriched by the plunder of the south."

Dissatisfaction and discontent continued in South Carolina, till finally in

the latter part of the year 1832, it terminated in nullification and open defiance of the National authorities. The executive branch of the government, with President Jackson at its head, met nullification in South Carolina with a strong, firm hand, and in February, 1833, Clay succeeded in getting through the senate certain measures that so modified the tariff laws as to make them much less burdensome to the people of the south. These measures, after passing through the house, received the approval of the President, and for the time allayed open discord and in a degree checked disunion tendencies in South Carolina.

In 1832 the party that opposed Democracy took the name of National Republican, and Clay was its candidate for President. The Democrats re-nominated Andrew Jackson, who was triumphantly elected. Not long before the expiration of his first term, Jackson vetoed a bill to re-charter the United States bank, but as the existing charter of this institution would not expire till 1836, the President, through his secretary of the treasury, George B. Taney, ordered the transfer of its funds to certain state banks. This action on the part of the executive was deemed high handed, and in the senate met with bitter opposition under the lead of Clay.

In 1837 Martin Van Buren was inaugurated President and served four years. In 1840 he again ran as the candidate of the Democracy, but was defeated by General Harrison, the Whig candidate. President Harrison died within a month of his inauguration, and John

Tyler became chief magistrate. In a little time Tyler deserted the Whig party and acted almost wholly in the interests of the Democrats. Towards the latter part of his term of office, Tyler, through the aid and influence of his secretary of state, John C. Calhoun, took strong ground in favor of the annexation of Texas—a scheme that met with much favor in the south as a means of slavery extension.

In 1844 Clay was the Whig candidate for President, and in April of that year wrote his famous Raleigh letter, opposing the annexation of Texas. He believed it would be unjust to Mexico, would involve us in a war with that country, and possibly be the means of bringing us in hostile relations with some European power.

Van Buren, the prospective candidate of the Democrats, held substantially the same views. But the south would have none but an unswerving annexationist, hence Van Buren was thrown aside and James K. Polk nominated.

Our northwestern boundary had not yet been settled, but a sort of understanding came to prevail in many quarters that the forty-ninth parallel would be just to both England and the United States. But the Democrats in their platform advocated pushing the boundary away up to fifty-four forty, and in the campaign that followed, "Texas annexation" and "fifty-four forty or fight," came to be the battle cry.

Seeing this aggressive policy of the Democrats, that proved to be popular in the south at least, Clay, on the first day of July, 1844, wrote a letter some-

what modifying his former position on the Texas question, saying in substance that if Mexico agreed to the annexation of Texas, and if the whole thing could be done peaceably and amicably, he saw no objection to the arrangement—indeed, would favor it.

This simple statement was, however, enough to turn many anti-slavery votes against him in the north, and in New York, the pivotal state, Polk had only about five thousand plurality, while Birney, the candidate of the Abolitionists, had fifteen thousand votes, many of which were drawn to Birney instead of Clay, after the latter wrote his objectionable—"Alabama"—letter. With the result Clay and his friends were bitterly disappointed. But events, so far as the annexation scheme was concerned, moved fast, and just before the termination of Tyler's administration a bill passed both houses that promptly received the Presidential signature, providing for the annexation of Texas. The Mexican war followed, in which Clay lost a son, who fell at Buena Vista. Three days before his body was brought home, Clay attended the funeral of a favorite daughter, so that, at this time, affliction laid its hand heavily upon this great man.

In 1849 Clay was again elected to the United States senate, from which body he had resigned in 1842. A year previously the Whigs had triumphantly elected General Taylor to the Presidency. Several questions growing out of the relations of the territory acquired by the Mexican war were at this junc-

ture exciting much interest. California had applied for admission as a free state, and this brought up anew the slavery question. Moreover, there was a dispute between Texas and New Mexico upon the proper location of the boundary line that divided them. Territorial organization was sought for Utah and New Mexico, but the question of forbidding or establishing slavery in these new regions was a theme that wrought up to the highest pitch the opponents and advocates of the peculiar institution in the halls of congress. Clay at last, as a compromise, introduced in the senate a series of measures providing for the admission of California, settlement of the disputed boundary between New Mexico and Texas, organization of the proposed territories, but leaving the slavery question open; declaring the inexpediency of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, but providing for the doing away with the slave traffic within its limits, and an amendment to the fugitive slave law that would insure the more easy and certain recovery of runaway slaves. The proposed measures covered so much ground and embraced so many topics that the epithet "Omnibus Bill" was bestowed upon them.

Much debate followed the introduction of these measures in the senate, and Clay exerted himself to his utmost to secure their passage. As a whole, the "Omnibus Bill" failed to pass, but in August and September, 1850, nearly all that it embraced went through both houses in separate measures and prompt-

ly received the sanction of Fillmore, who, upon the death of Taylor July 9, 1850, succeeded to the Presidency.

The compromise measures of 1850 were the last great questions in which Clay took a leading part, and two years later, June, 1852, he died in Washington city, a member of the United States senate, forty-six years after he first entered that body and after a half century of public life. He was seven times elected to the house and was sent to the United States senate five times; was chosen speaker seven times, served four years as secretary of state and ran as a Presidential candidate three times.

In several particulars Clay was one of the most remarkable men in American history. Without educational advantages, he, by his talents and force of character, won a place in the United States senate before he was quite thirty years old and at once took high position in that body. At the age of thirty-four he entered the house, was immediately chosen speaker, and for thirteen years thereafter was its master spirit. Entering the national senate again in 1831, he at once became and remained its master spirit also, notwithstanding it contained such men as John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Thomas Benton, and later, Stephen A. Douglass and William H. Seward.

As an orator, America has produced few that were Clay's equals. But what fell from his lips depended so much upon the way it was said, upon the looks, manner, tones, action, emphasis and personal magnetism of the speaker, that the cold words seen to-day in print

convey but faint impression of their original power. But besides persuasive speech, Clay had an iron will and all those qualities of person and traits of character that first charm, next win and ever after retain troops of admiring friends and hosts of faithful followers. With such rare gifts it was only natural that he should easily become a great leader of men. So that while his services in the house and senate brought him in contact with such phenomenal statesmen as Webster and Calhoun, his position as leader of the Whig party brought him in direct competition with Andrew Jackson, the great and strangely-successful leader for twenty years of the Democratic party. Jackson was ten years older than Clay, but the early manhood of both were passed on the frontier — Jackson's in the wilds of Tennessee, Clay's in the wilds of Kentucky. Jackson, during the War of 1812, became a leader in the field and achieved imperishable renown. Clay at the same time became a leader in the counsels of the nation and won lasting fame. Jackson was three times candidate for President and was twice successful. Clay was three times candidate for the same office, but was never successful. Jackson had an iron will before which every obstacle must needs, and did, bend. Clay had an equally imperious will that was not always so fortunate in mastering whatsoever it encountered. For twenty years Jackson was the idol of the Democracy, as for the same period Clay was of the Whigs.

The two great questions that overshadowed all others, except at certain short periods during the fifty years of Clay's public services, were slavery and the tariff. He was a life-long opponent of slavery, and, in 1797-8, strongly advocated the insertion of a clause in the constitution of Kentucky providing for the gradual but final doing away with slavery in that commonwealth. For many years Clay was president of the American Colonization society, and in a speech in 1829 expressed the following sentiments :

If I could be the instrument in eradicating this deep stain (slavery) upon the character of our country and removing all causes of reproach on account of it by foreign nations, if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered state that gave me birth, or that no less loved state which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror.

We have elsewhere seen that he was, as early as 1816, an earnest advocate of a high protective tariff, and was ever after an enthusiastic promoter of the principle of protection. But far above his notions on the tariff, far above his opposition to slavery, was his love for and devotion to the Union. Hence, in 1820-1, when disunion seemed imminent from differences between the north and the south upon slavery ; in 1832-3, when the same result threatened from differences upon the tariff question ; and in 1850, when the southern states were about to secede

because of alleged encroachments upon rights of their section, Henry Clay, pervaded with an intense love for the Union, threw himself into the breach in every instance, and after almost herculean effort upon each occasion, succeeded in allaying for the time the most violent sources of discord.

If it be urged that Clay's treatment of these differences only soothed for a time the ills of the body politic, and did not cure by reason of not eradicating the cause, it must be answered that he in each instance doubtless made use of the best means at hand and such as was especially adapted to the particular period. For Union sentiment in our government has been of slow—however sure and steady—growth. It is to-day stronger than ever before, but a quarter of a century ago was barely strong enough to prevent secession from becoming a success. And as we go back in our National history we shall find each decade showing less and less Union sentiment, till we reach the period of the formation of the Federal government, nearly one hundred years ago, when some of the thirteen states became members of the Union with extreme reluctance, and even conservative New York would not consent to do so till assured by her great and brilliant statesman, Hamilton, that an armed force would never be used to coerce a state.

C. B. JOHNSON.

STONEHENGE AND OLD SARUM.

ABOUT eighty miles southwest of London, in the county of Wiltshire, and in the heart of southern England, is the Plain of Old Sarum, now known as Salisbury Plain. It is an elevated plateau of pure white chalk some twenty miles long and having a varied width of about ten miles, and is the northern termination of the chalk ridge which traverses central England from northeast to southwest, called the Chiltern hills. The plain is not a dead flat, but is undulating like some of our western prairies, which we call rolling. Disintegration of the smooth chalky surface during untold ages has produced a few inches of soil, and in the spring it is green with grass and flowers, and is utilized by its lordly proprietor as a sheep range until the first hot days of summer, when every spear of grass withers and dies. In the center of this plain stands Stonehenge. Of prehistoric remains, England contains no human structure of stone surpassing it. To see this strange and mysterious structure, antedating history, as to see the Great Pyramid of Cheops, was an aspiration of our youth.

Dining one evening at the hospitable home of a London gentleman, overlooking Hyde Park, we expressed our purpose of visiting Stonehenge, and named the following day. As I was

about to take leave, our hostess and her young lady friend surprised me by saying: "We are going with you, and will meet you in the morning at Waterloo station for the eight o'clock train west." It was a very agreeable suggestion, but I could hardly realize that the ladies were in earnest. But surely enough they were at the station in advance of me, and their coachman was on the lookout for my arrival.

Mrs. W. was an experienced traveler, and had seen Europe from the Giant's Causeway to St. Petersburg, and from Constantinople to Madrid. Now she was inspired concerning Stonehenge and determined to visit the colossal antique. Miss S. was a Connecticut lady, less traveled but scholarly and appreciative. Exactly to the minute the train glided out of the lofty station, and high above the houses and streets for ten miles, when the open country was reached. Then through Surrey, passing Richmond park to the right of us; Hampton Court, built by Woolsey; the exiled home of the Empress Eugenia, embowered among stately oaks; by Runnymead, of *Magna Charta* fame, and then through Hampshire to Salisbury, where we arrived about ten o'clock. The landscape of southern England is unsurpassed, and the historic associations of every town and hamlet

are inspiring to an American, as every name is duplicated with us, and hundreds of American families in these later years annually visit these originals to seek the records of their ancestors.

It took but a few minutes to procure a carriage with an expert driver who had conducted thousands to the plain, knew the purposes of such visitors, and who proved himself to be possessed of all the antiquarian lore of that famous region. It was a clear and bright June day in 1883, and in an open barouche we took our northern course up along the little river Avon, which in its southward flow skirts Salisbury plain on the east. The road was white and smooth as a sanded floor, and the ancient stone walls on either side were so venerable with age that they were often wholly covered with soil and garnished with vines and flowers in endless profusion. At noon we made the village of Amesbury, seven miles from Salisbury, and turned in under an arch in the center of the Crown hotel, into a paved court, and ordered dinner.

It was a quaint old-fashioned village tavern, dining-room and tap-room on opposite sides of the arched passage way, and kitchen in rear of the latter. A stone building with stone floors and tile roof. It is in as good preservation as it was three hundred years ago. I wondered how many of our ancestors had been guests of that old tavern before Amesbury, Massachusetts, had been christened by them? We dined in pure old English style upon mutton, such as once delighted the palate of Dr. Johnson. The ladies tasted claret and

water, while I confess to good home brewed beer, such as our New England mothers used to make in the spring of the year, which once delighted the gods and was harmless to the very elect.

Pursuing our journey for about a mile, we passed several ancient houses and hamlets in the valley, and saw many evidences of ancient Roman earthworks, including the camp of Vespasian and many scenes of conflict of the Saxon Heptarchy, when our road bore more directly northward and rose rapidly to and across the center of the great Salisbury plain. When we reached the highest level, Stonehenge was sighted far in the center of the plain. This great upland moor is the home of solitude. No buildings—not a trace of a human dwelling—no human being, save possibly a shepherd boy guarding a flock of flat-tailed sheep. Villages and hamlets there are in the distant valleys, east, north and west, but not a house or home on this lonely chalky plain. Not a tree breaks the monotony of the landscape, save, perhaps a few small scrubby oaks which have taken root in the ravines and lowest levels, where a little deeper soil covers the hard and dry foundation of chalk.

The distant view of Stonehenge is disappointing like a ship at sea, where in the broad ocean there is no other object by which to compare it, but when we approach the structure, it develops its magnitude and grandeur. It then becomes the *chorea gigantum*—the Choir of the Giants—and the folk lore tradition that Merlin, the magician,

brought the stones from Ireland is felt to be but a poetical homage to the vastness of the work. It is conceded to be the oldest and most remarkable monument of antiquity in England, taking into account its comparative preservation as well as its grandeur. While antiquaries differ in opinion respecting its age, it may not be otherwise than harmless for a layman to express the opinion that it is contemporary with the early monuments of Egypt, evidenced by the massiveness of the stone, similarity of foundation, being built upon a rock formed of calcareous shells under an ancient sea, and having its most striking parallel in the plateau of the mummulitic limestone rock upon which stands the Sphynx and the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, a hundred and fifty feet above the Delta, amid the drifting sands of the Libyan desert of a thousand generations. It is unique in its circular form, massive in its materials, lonely in its situation, doubtful of the race of men who constructed it, and mysterious as to its purposes. It has no parallel in Grecian or Roman architecture, and in the massiveness of its every stone suggests the quarry men of the early Pharaohs.

The present aspect of Stonehenge presents great blocks of stone, about thirty in number, in the exterior circle, most of which stand erect as when first placed; a few have fallen and lie where they fell. The whole constituted a perfect circle, about eighty five feet exterior diameter. The upright stones are not less than twenty feet long by five feet wide and two feet thick, and

were set two feet into the limestone rock, or chalk, about one foot apart, leaving an entrance on the east side of some six feet in width. The top of these uprights are finished with continued imposts or lintels, well beveled and matched like the felloes of a cart wheel, and broad enough to project a few inches on the inner and outer sides, forming a perfect circular frieze. There is, or was, an inner circle of smaller stone without lintels, and within this smaller circle three pairs of upright stones set in a half circle, with tenons which fitted into a mortise in the uprights, called the trilithons, and within this also two still smaller uprights with a broad stone on top, about four feet high, called the alter of sacrifice. The trilithons are much longer than the stones of the outer circle and look something like a central tower. The several stones of the structure are said to average from ten to seventy tons in weight. Not a single stone bears the marks of the chisel save only in the instance of the tenons and mortises in the trilithons—neither quarry marks nor even rough cradling. Nevertheless they are uniform and wonderfully square and shapely, as our stone cutters would prepare a block from the quarry ready for the coarse cradle. They are, moreover, as smooth on the broad surface and on the edge as stones long submerged in running water. If they ever showed the marks of the chisel, the rains and frosts of unknown ages have wholly obliterated them. I called the ladies' attention to this fact for confirmation of this statement, as some writers

persist in calling them "carefully hewn." It is said that there is no quarry in England that produce such stone, a sort of dark gray, fine grained, talcose slate, though there are hundreds such upon the surfaces, but quite remote from Salisbury plain. If this is so, then these stones came from some disrupted Arctic mountain and were transported in the ice age.

As to the purpose and use of this mysterious structure, it is doubtless the general belief that it is a temple of the Celtic Druids, priests of the primeval Briton, and the most perfect and artistical of all Druidical remains. Stan is the Saxon for stone, and henge, to hang or support, hence Stonehenge. From the circumstance of its artistic perfection in contrast with other and ruder stone circles, it would seem that the primitive Britons, if they constituted any portion of the lost tribes of Israel, had in their migration become slightly less orthodox than their Hebrew ancestors, in that they used the chisel to the extent of making a few tenons and mortises, thereby disobeying the injunction of the law as delivered by Moses : "If thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone, for if thou lift thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." Exodus Chap. XX. Doubtless a protest prompted by the memory of Moses himself against the extravagant architecture of the Pharaohs at Thebes, Memphis and Zoan, with which he was familiar, and the glittering monoliths of Heleopolis, in sight of which his people had labored

and suffered four hundred years of bondage upon the plains of Goshen.

Antiquarians differ much in opinion as to the date of Stonehenge. A few are very conservative in matters of chronology, and would bring it down to within the Christian era and the occupation of the Romans. But the weight of opinion carries it back into the remote past, while some express the belief that from ten to fifty thousand years are embraced in its history. Diodorus Siculus described a round temple in Britain dedicated to Apollo, which is supposed to be Stonehenge. Dr. Smith maintained that it was "the grand orrery of the Druids," representing by combinations of its stones, the ancient solar year, the lunar month, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the seven planets, thus indicating astronomical intelligence at the period of its foundation equal to that of the Chaldeans in the time of Job. Moreover, it has been pronounced a temple of Budha, the Druids being held by ethnologists to be a race of emigrated Indian or Hindoo philosophers.

It is now well known that similar monuments are found in Asia, Europe and America. Especially are they found in India, Persia and Phoenicia. We need not marvel at the suggestion that it might have been a temple erected to Vishnu by the first wave of our Aryan ancestors who reached the western limits of emigration ages before the Hebrews crossed the Jordan. Nowhere else in the known world but in Hindustan can there be duplicated a like struc-

ture on so large a scale as this wonder in the midst of Salisbury plain, which would seem to confirm the theory of Sanscrit scholars and ethnologists, that the primitive occupants of England and Hindustan had a common ancestry in Central Asia, and now after the lapse of untold ages are reunited under a common sovereign in the person of the queen of England and empress of India.

In that great store-house of history, the Pentateuch, we find pretty sure intimation that circles of stone were set up for sacred and solemn purposes. The stones which Joshua took out of the bed of the Jordan and set up in Gilgal, is a remarkable example. Gilgal itself is interpreted a circle. It subsequently became a place not only of sacred observance but for the more solemn acts of secular government. It is a strange feeling that comes over one when contemplating that all our knowledge of the British Celt and priestly Druid is drawn from Roman historians of the early centuries of our era—Cæsar, Tacitus, Marcellinus, Lærtius and others. From them we learn that the Druids were not only the ministers of sacred things, but, as possessing whatever there was of learning in that part of the world at that time, were the statesmen, legislators and judges of the people. It is doubtful about the Celtic nation being a savage people in our sense of the word, though rude and primitive. A people who fought the great Cæsar in chariots of iron, fifty years before the Christian era; whose Silurian chieftain, Caradoc (Caraactacus), held Wales ten years against the Roman armies on the banks

of the Wye; whose queen, Boadicea, for a season overwhelmed the soldiers of Suetonius and destroyed London, then a incipient Roman village, were no more savages than any other brave and patriotic people. Cæsar says the Druids believed in the immortality of the soul, and Lærtius says that their religious system was comprised in three precepts: “To worship the gods, to do no evil, and to act with courage;” and some held that their doctrine was the belief in one God. But, whatever might have been their thoughts, actions or belief, all we know for a certainty is that the dead Druid lies in a thousand mounds and barrows upon the borders of Salisbury plain. It is the burial place of more than a thousand generations, and their sepulchral monuments have survived brass and stone. They have been spared by the plow, for the few inches of soil on the flat chalky downs does not make suitable returns for the labors of cultivation. The antiquary has, however, broken into those mounds with spade and mattock and established their sepulchral character and the peculiarity of their sepulture. These remarkable tumuli or barrows contain not only the bones and ashes of Celt and Druid and British kings, but likewise those of Romans, Saxons and Danes, and their various articles of utility and ornament, domestic utensils, weapons of war, decorations of the person, perhaps insignia of honor, the things which contributed to comfort, security and the graces of life. In the Celtic and Druidical mounds no Roman coins are found,

for they antedate both Rome and the Cæsars.

The guardian of Stonehenge for the day was a venerable shepherd, whose flocks cropped the thymey grass within the sacred circle and ruminated in the shade of the huge monoliths. He left the flock to the care of his faithful dog and came to the ruin at the moment of our approach. He was a pensioner upon the bounty of the lord of Old Sarum, and the coins given him cheerfully by visitors were his perquisites. In early life he had been a sailor familiar with the American lakes, and knew the cities thereof as well as ourselves. He was intelligent and respectful, tall and grave in aspect, and his long, white beard was suggestive of the Druid worshipper and a door-keeper in the temple of the sun.

The sun was rapidly descending beyond the lofty Plinlimmon, in Wales, when, about four o'clock, we took a last lingering look of Stonehenge, impressed with its vast antiquity, and with a belief something akin to a sense of absolute certainty that it was there when Solomon dedicated the temple, when Abraham set up an altar among the oaks of Mamre, when the Inca of Peru built the temple in Titicaca, when the remote predecessors of Montezuma were building the great pyramid in the Valley of Mexico, when the Mound Builders were delving in the copper mines of Lake Superior, aye, possibly, when Atlantis went down, overwhelmed in the midst of the ocean.

Nature takes no account of time, either past or future. With her it is

ever an eternal present. Man only marks days and years for his convenience. It is hardly more than fifty years since the emancipation of even the learned from the thraldom of our early theological preceptors and awakened to a sense of a remoter past than the little six thousand years of Archbishop Ussher's chronology of creation; but now the reflective mind of man sweeps with confidence over ages and cycles never before contemplated.

But what is all this in comparison to the countless millions of geological cycles to be contemplated in the formation of the unknown depths of chalk upon which Stonehenge stands, or the hundred layers of mummulitic limestone which forms the lofty plateau on which the Great Pyramid of Egypt was built, on the border of the Lybian desert, two hundred feet above the green grass of the Delta, its northern front within a few feet of the perpendicular wall whose foundation was laid under an ancient ocean, and in later ages was washed by the Nine till Menes turned its channel to the east and laid the foundation of Memphis. The works of man, even the Great Pyramid itself, the mightiest and most wonderful of all, sink into insignificance in point of age with earth's foundations, and the seven thousand years in which the great mystery has stood, "four points to the cardinal," is but as a tick of the clock to the illimitable ocean of geological time.

Returning by a southwesterly route, about a mile from Stonehenge, we passed the remains of a Roman camp upon the most elevated part of the plain. Silence

had reigned there since the fourth century, yet its bastions were green, and rabbits were nibbling the grass, and coyotes protruded their heads from their holes and complained in sharp accents of our intrusion upon their ancient and solitary reign. A few miles further on we left the high plateau and descended into a rich and beautiful valley and soon approached, a little way to the right of the road, an object of strange fascination. It was a conical hill of pure white chalk, about a hundred feet high above the general level. A spiral path, which twice made the circuit of the hill, led to the top where there appeared to be a level surface of about a quarter of an acre on which there was once a citadel. Around its base in every direction, and extending a great distance, were heaps and mounds—all that remained of the most famous Roman city in central England—*Sarum*. It is referred to in later years as *Old Sarum*. Not a dwelling is visable nor has a soul lived in the old city for six hundred years. It was the headquarters of *Agricola*, the general of the Emperor *Domitian*, and there, doubtless, in A. D. 78—the war before the destruction of *Herculaneum* and

Pompeii—he was visited by *Tacitus*, who married his daughter, possibly at this very place. It was fortified by *Alfred* in the ninth century, made a bishop's see in the eleventh century, but in 1220 the great cathedral of *Salisbury*, some two miles distant, was built, and *Sarum*, as a city, sank beneath the soil. Nevertheless, one hundred years later, *Edward III* endowed the baronial estate of *Old Sarum* with the franchise of two members of parliament, who represented the lord of the soil, but no other constituency; and this continued down to 1833, when parliamentary “rotten boroughs” were abolished.

On our return to *Salisbury* we had an hour for tea, and to visit the famous cathedral and stroll through its shaded walks and venerable courts.

Our day's work having been accomplished under most happy auspices, the returning train brought us to *London* at ten P. M., and exchanging mutual congratulations on the success of our enterprise in the antiquarian fields of *Stonehenge* and *Old Sarum*, we bade each other good night.

F. T. WALLACE.

IN AND ABOUT KASKASKIA.

ON a bright, crisp October morning our party of five left Evansville. We were provided with a good team, a stout spring wagon and an ample luncheon ; in fact, we had made preparation for a thorough holiday. A ride of twelve miles brought us to the top of the bluff. We followed the road winding down around it till we reached the bottom. Here we crossed a wooden bridge. The scenery, as you approach, is romantic. The hills, rising abruptly, are covered with dense forest. Here and there you find an old building at the foot. The wooden bridge, the little stream, the rocks, with their ends jutting out blend together in one grand picture. It seems strange to find ourselves amid such beautiful surroundings so little talked about, yet so near at home.

We are at Kaskaskia. Not at the town, but moving along the foot of the bluffs which rise on the opposite bank of the river. It might be well to remark here that constant usage has abbreviated the name, and the people of the vicinity know of the place simply as "Kaskia." Before we cross the river let us ramble awhile among these hills. We hitch our team in front of the Reily homestead and proceed on foot along the narrow route, once a wagon road, that leads to the Old Reily mill. The first place that attracts attention is the

walls of an old stone house, built in an excavation on the side of the bluff, with one end facing the road. The end toward the road presents the appearance of a two-story building, while the other rises scarcely higher than the excavation. It has a basement which you enter from the roadside, and a store-room with the entrance on the north. The house is some twenty-four by thirty-six feet. It looks deserted and lonely with its apertures—once doors and windows—staring at you as you approach. The stone steps on the north side still remain. Over the door is a large sign, bearing the inscription :

DANL. REILY AND SON,
Wholesale and Retail Dealers
in General Merchandise.

It strikes you as odd that this out of the way place should once have been a centre of trade for the surrounding towns. Even St. Louis used to draw her supplies from here—if not from this particular store, at least from Old Kaskaskia. However, a date, 1852, cut in the stone above the door tells us that the building is not so venerable as its appearance would indicate. As we walk on we come to the famous Kaskia well. Not a well, in fact, but infinitely better. It is a beautiful spring flowing from the side of the bluff. The spot is a charming one, and, were it not on the much traveled route to the mill, it would

be easy to fancy it a trysting-place for lovers. Since Hawthorne threw such a halo of romance around a prosaic New England town pump, I wonder what he would have written had he seen this crystal fountain pouring its tiny stream from the hillside. You feel almost disappointed that you do not surprise some couple seated in the rude alcove or standing on the rocks above. After all, we could not hope to find them at this hour. The sun is near the zenith and quite warm. We seek what comfort we may in a draught from our tin cup, which we hold under the dripping stream.

The people evidently loved the place. They have added much to its beauty. The walls of a small stone building stand near. An iron tube forms the opening through which the water pours into the huge wooden trough below. The trough is old and rotten, and the water, leaking out, keeps on its way down the hill till it reaches the stream below. Much refreshed, we continue our ramble. A short distance further and we reach the Reily mill. The building is not used, but was up to a few years ago. It stands near the site of the old water mill erected by Prix Paget. Years after, in 1795, General Edgar bought it and manufactured flour for the New Orleans market. Later, it passed into the hands of a company. Daniel Reily purchased it of them in 1842. We try the door, hoping to gain an entrance, but find it securely fastened; so we walk on around the building, climb down into the basement on the north. Here we find the ponderous

engine, half eaten by the rust. The smokestack has fallen down and lies in a twisted, disordered mass. Passing to the lower side, we see a stairway leading from the basement up to the main floor. The opening above is partly closed by boards laid across and held in their place by an iron safe. We scramble over the obstruction and find ourselves in the building. Most of the machinery is still here and looks as though it might, with comparatively little expense, be put in running order. The old battered up desk and office chair seem lonesome for want of something to do. They were once busy enough, if we may judge from appearances, and have well earned their holiday. Passing up another flight of stairs, we find things much the same. Up another, and we come to the top, a sort of half-story or garret. Even the garret is filled with machinery, and betokens the fact that in its palmy days there was not a lazy corner in the building. We retrace our steps down the two flights of stairs, over the rubbish and again are in the basement. Our lady companions whom we left outside have gone. A stone structure stands a short distance away—probably a warehouse or, perhaps, a remnant of the old water-mill. We do not care to enter. The roof has tumbled in. It has the same staring doors and windows as the old store. A tall stone chimney, topped with brick, rises from one corner like a lonely sentinel. We follow the wooden sluice back over the hill and find a large pond, now dry, which once supplied the mill with water.

The location of the mill is picturesque, situated, as it is, in a little valley and nearly surrounded by hills. A high bluff, covered with timber, rises on the west and northwest. On the north and east the ascent is not so high and is more gradual.

When we reach our wagon we find it dinner-time. The walk has sharpened our appetites. Our lunch is very acceptable. The other members, who deserted us at the mill, have already arrived. They prepare the coffee while Arthur and I lead the horses down to the spring. For our coffee we have to thank the hospitable lady whom we find still living at the Reily homestead. "They often ask for relics," she said in answer to our query, "and I tell them they will have to take me, for I am about all that is left." We were shown into a parlor and given seats, that we might rest awhile before eating. The room was plain and rather lonesome looking, but elegant, notwithstanding. The strong mahogany furniture and rich carpet bore the impress of other days. The room itself was not old, not over forty years, but adjoining it on the west was another which our hostess told us had been there for more than one hundred years.

Again we are on our way, driving along near the bank of the river. We go about a mile, then halt at the pecan grove, just opposite the town. Here we leave our team and climb to the top of Garrison hill to get a view from old Fort Gage. This fort stands on a bluff overlooking the village. It is a tiresome walk even for an October day.

When half way up we stop to rest. Again we scramble on and again we stop. More of a task than one of the party bargained for. She sinks to the ground from sheer exhaustion. Rather ungallantly Arthur and I push on and, in a few minutes, reach the top. "Its awfully hard work to climb this hill," said our deserted companion a few minutes later, as she came up, panting, to where we were standing, "but I feel well repaid. I can imagine grandma and a lot of young folks climbing up here in the same way, when she was a girl." If we do not answer, it is because we are too much wrapped up in the scene below us. I felt that I could gaze at the picture for hours. There, in the valley beneath, was the sleepy village; a few wooden houses, with here and there a brick or stone, all in the last stages of decay. The only ones worthy of the name are the church, the school-house and the parsonage. A mile to the west you see the Father of Waters. Between us and town, at the foot of the bluff, is the Kaskaskia. A short distance above is a stream somewhat broader than the Kaskaskia, that has broken through the narrow neck of land which separates the two rivers. It is known as the Cut Off. A fierce current from the Mississippi rushes through it and down the Kaskaskia, only to find itself in the original channel some seven miles below. Far to the west you can see lines of timber skirting the hills which rise on the Missouri side. To the northwest, some five miles away, and beyond an island in the Mississippi, you see the town of St. Genevieve.

The fort, at present, is a harmless looking zigzag mound, inclosing a space some two hundred and ninety feet by two hundred and fifty-one feet. It bears little resemblance to a fortification. Trees are growing on top of the embankment, showing that it was thrown up many years ago. Once large square logs surmounted the mound. A few feet away is the remains of a wooden stand—probably erected for the speakers' use at the centennial celebration in 1879. The position on the top of the bluff is commanding. An army desiring to capture Kaskaskia could make no better move than to gain possession of the fort. The original fortification was erected in 1736. In 1756 it was repaired and occupied by a French garrison. Ten years later it burned down. It was re-built by the English, who gave it the present name. In 1763 it was ceded by France to England, and at the date of its capture, 1778, was in their possession. Colonel Clark and his forces reached there on the fourth of July. He concealed his men during the day. After dark they proceeded to the old ferry house, some three-quarters of a mile above town. Taking possession of it, Clark divided his men into three squads; two were to cross the river, the rest were to storm the fort.

Had the fort been properly garrisoned, it would have been impossible for this small force to capture it. So favorable is the location that a few men could resist a strong band of invaders. It was this very fact, no doubt, that made them so careless.

The Americans were shown up a path that led to the rear. They found the postern gate standing open. No resistance was made. The accommodating sentinel led them to the very sleeping chamber of the commanding governor, Rocheblave. No doubt the governor opened his eyes in surprise when Kenton tapped him on the shoulder and asked him to surrender. The other detachments crossed the river and entered the town at opposite points. The place was captured without loss of life.

This was probably the most exciting moment ever known in Kaskaskia. Clark and his soldiers had won the name of Long Knives. The first notice the inhabitants had of their approach was a terrible yell in the streets. It sounded like the yells of so many demons. The terrified villagers were told if they remained in their houses that they would not be molested. Of course they obeyed. Morning did little to allay their fears. The frontier soldiers having no change of clothing, were as uncouth in appearance as their yells had been terrible the night before. It confirmed the belief that they were in the power of a horde of men worse than savages. They were agreeably surprised. Their captor was kind to them. In a few words he made known the reasons for his attack, and told the people they were to use their own pleasure in joining him or remaining loyal to the British. When they heard that France was aiding the American cause, they gladly transferred their allegiance to Colonel Clark.

Governor Reynolds regards the cap-

ture of Fort Gage and Kaskaskia as a very important event. We find him saying:

The conquest of Fort Gage and Kaskaskia, the capital of Illinois, is one of the most singular and important events recorded in history. It was the extraordinary genius and capacities of Colonel Clark that achieved it. He had scarcely any men, and all their armour, provision, camp equipage, etc., were packed on their backs to the scene of action; and this, too, to take a strong garrison, defended with cannon, British soldiers, etc. This may be taken in after days as romance, but now it is known to be reality.

It would seem that Reynolds has over-estimated the event; at least in some respects. Clark was a man of ability. The expedition in itself was remarkable; the capture of the place important. So far we agree. In the mere storming of the fort and the taking of the town there is nothing singular; nothing liable "in after days to be taken as romance," if the facts are told with it. Clark and his men had it all their own way. There was no struggle; no loss of life. The work was over, the real glory achieved before the final capture of the place was accomplished.

The stranger who can see the "Paris of America" in the few rickety tumble-down buildings which constitute the village of Kaskaskia, must have a fertile imagination. A more thriftless, lonesome looking town is not to be found. Viewing it now one would not suppose its history dated back to a time when New York was a little Dutch village; that it probably antedated the city of Brothertly Love; that it was a flourishing place nearly one hundred years before St. Louis was thought of. Just when Kaskaskia was founded is a matter of

uncertainty. It is thought that a settlement of the same name was made some years prior, near the central part of Illinois. This Kaskaskia was a failure. A few years later the name was transferred to the new settlement, founded on the present site. It is generally agreed that the new village was settled about the year 1680. Some say not till 1700, and this is probably correct.

While cities have sprung up on every hand this place has, for years, tended steadily toward decay. Even the title has been taken from her by a more thrifty sister. It is a pity the site was so unfortunate. With different surroundings, there is no reason why Kaskaskia may not have been the St. Louis of to-day. A glance at the location explains all. Kaskaskia was destined never to become a great city. The town was laid out on the banks of the Okaw.* Some distance to the west flows the Mississippi. The ground on which it is located, together with the surrounding country, is very fertile, but too flat and low for the site of a city. The Mississippi has, for years, been making encroachments—washing it away little by little. Once it was nearly three miles off but it has crept up till it is now scarcely one third the distance. In 1785 the high water did much damage. It reached to the floor of the Kaskaskia hotel. The overflow of 1844 came near sweeping away the entire town. This was the highest ever known and is said to have measured five feet higher on the hotel wall than

*Kaskaskia river.

the rise of 1785. In the spring of 1881 it burst through the strip of land separating the two streams, and formed the Cut Off. This connects the Okaw with the Mississippi a short distance above the town, making an island of what might before have been termed a peninsula.

It is probable that the location of Kaskaskia was selected on account of the protection it afforded against the Indians. Situated as it is, it could be reached from the east only by crossing the Okaw; from the west by crossing the Mississippi. To the north was the only continuous body of land connecting them with the outer world. So long as the northern entrance was guarded they were comparatively secure. It is not to be wondered that they thought more of present needs than of uncertain future greatness. For nearly one hundred years after its settlement, Kaskaskia was exclusively French. When it passed under English rule the place remained essentially the same. Later, many Americans settled there and, during the present century, formed quite an important part of the population. The town was laid out after the plan of all French villages. The blocks are about three hundred feet square. Each block contained four lots. The streets, usually narrow, were always at right angles. To our modern eyes Old Kaskia would present a curious appearance.

The French houses were generally one story high and made of wood. Some few were built of stone. There was not a brick house in the country for more than one hundred years from the first settle-

ment. The houses were formed of large posts or timbers, the posts being set three or four feet apart in many of them. In others these posts were closer together, and the intervals made up with mortar of common clay and cut straw. In those where the posts were farther apart, the spaces were filled with puncheons. The posts were guttered for the puncheons to fit in.*

Though primitive in construction, the houses must have been quite comfortable. They certainly were neat in appearance, with their walls whitewashed both inside and out and their steep, thatched roofs of straw or prairie grass. Shingles, sawed plank and nails were very scarce or not to be had at all. A thatched roof was durable; puncheons, if not so nice, supplied the place of plank; wooden pins, driven into bored holes, made it possible to get along without the use of nails.

As if to add still more to the picturesque appearance, they built their houses with galleries running nearly all around. The chimneys were probably made of stone, which is plenty in the vicinity. If stone was not to be had, a chimney quite as comfortable, though less artistic, could be built of sticks, daubed with a mortar made of mud. The windows usually contained some glass. The sash swung on hinges instead of sliding up and down. Glass was scarce. What they did in its absence we are not told. In backwoods American communities it was common to see windows made of greased paper pasted over apertures in the wall. The dress compared favorably with the architecture.

* Reynolds.

The costume of the French was like all other matters appertaining to them of that day, singular and peculiar. It seems that the masses of the French have a predilection for blue color. Blue handkerchiefs were generally worn on the head by both male and female. It was tastefully tied on, and seemed rather to become the male in place of a hat. Hats in olden time were very little used. The capot, made of white blanket, was the universal dress for the laboring class of people. A kind of cap was attached behind at the cape which, in cold weather, was raised over the head, in the house or in good weather was permitted to rest on the shoulders like an ordinary cape. Coarse blue stuff the men used for pantaloons in summer, and buckskin or cloth in the winter. The French generally, and the females particularly, caught up the French fashion from New Orleans and Paris, and with singular avidity adopted them to the full extent of their means and talents. The females generally, and the males a good deal, wore the deerskin mawksain. The men out of doors wore a coarser and stronger article, made out of thick leather, which the Americans call "shoe packs." Both sexes were always provided with something neat and tasty for the church and ballroom.*

In matters pertaining to agriculture, we find the people much behind our present ideas. To us it would appear barbarous to see a team of oxen drawing the plow by means of a yoke fastened with leather thongs to their horns. Yet this was a common sight. It is said that oxen can pull as much in this way as if yoked together by the neck. With the crude instrument they called a plow—its wooden moulboard, handles nearly straight and wooden beam supported at the end by two wheels—they could do scarcely more than scratch the ground. Horses were not used a great deal; not at all for such work as plowing. Both horses and oxen were driven to the "barefooted" carts. These curious vehicles were made of wood

* Reynolds.

and must have been very clumsy. The Americans named them "barefooted" because there was no iron tire on the wheel.

The French settlers differed from the English in many respects. They lived in villages and held their land in common; or, if not in common, each had his own plot marked off, and the whole was fenced as a common inclosure. The English were more exclusive, and single families were often remote from each other. The French mode of living together was the better plan—perhaps not better for the development of a country, but very much safer.

The laws of France were recognized. French laws governed the descent of property; in fact, ruled everything. But their force seems to have been derived from common consent, rather than from rigid enforcement. A regular court did not exist till the country passed into English hands, in 1763. We are told that the people paid no taxes and worked but little on the public roads. From 1732 to 1754 was such a prosperous time among the settlers that it has been called the "Golden Age of Illinois." At the close of the French and Indian war, Kaskaskia "contained two or three thousand inhabitants, and was a place of business, wealth and fashion."

In olden times Kaskaskia was to Illinois what Paris is at this day to France. Both were, at their respective days, the great emporiums of fashion, gaiety, and I must add happiness also. In the year 1721 the Jesuits erected a monastery and college in Kaskaskia, and a few years later it was chartered by the government. Kaskaskia for many years was the

largest town west of the Alleghany mountains. It was a tolerable place before the existence of Cincinnati, Pittsburgh or New Orleans. In this year (1721) Charlevon visited the country, and he states that "the inhabitants of Kaskaskia have black cattle and poultry and are doing well." The Jesuits had erected water and wind-mills near the village. The streams through the bluffs exhibit the traces of water-mills to this day.*

It is thought that about one-third of the French inhabitants left Kaskaskia when the English took possession. Some went to St. Genivieve and others helped to found St. Louis. The influx of English, and afterward of American blood added materially to the prosperity of the town. From 1810 to 1820 the population numbered about seven thousand.

Kaskaskia was the home of many persons with whose names we are familiar. John Rice Jones was the first lawyer in Illinois. His son, Rice Jones, the best educated, and perhaps the most talented man in the west, was murdered here. Senator Kane sleeps in a vault at the top of the bluff. General James Shield was a school teacher in Kaskaskia. The late Judge Sidney Breese began his long, useful career as a lawyer in this place.

After leaving Fort Gage, we pay a visit to the old Menard mansion, situated a few hundred yards further south. Although called a mansion, it would scarcely pass for such now. It is large and, when in good repair, must have been a comfortable home—perhaps a mansion, as compared with surroundings. A veranda on the west extends the entire length; a second reaches

across the north end, and a third, part of the way across the south. The whole forms a promenade extending more than half way around the building. The main structure is nearly square. It rises but a single story above the basement. The basement, on the lower side of the hill, is several feet in height. At the rear it extends but a foot or two above the surface. This gives the house the appearance of a two story front. The stairway, leading up to the main entrance is broken down, and to gain admission you are obliged to walk around to the rear. The queer shaped hip roof, with its two dormer windows looking to the west, a third toward the south, and three slender chimneys rising above, gives the building a unique appearance. Another feature that attracts your attention is the conspicuous absence of gables. The heavy green shutters are closed, and the house has a lonely, deserted look.

Extending back from the main building is an ell, consisting of a broad open hall. At the extreme end is the kitchen. The hall, or porch, as you have a mind to call it, is paved with large flat limestone rock.

"Might we get a drink?" we inquired of the lady whom we find at work in the kitchen. "I suppose you might," was the reply, as she filled a glass with more alacrity than the tone of her answer would justify. "Will you have another?" By this time we felt so much at home that we begged permission to go through the building. We entered the hall. It was large and nearly bare. The only vestige of ornament was a huge side-board,

* Reynolds.

once an elegant piece of furniture, but now unsightly enough. On the top stood an old Seth Thomas clock, stripped of its machinery. On the opposite side hung a fine oil painting of Napoleon, but, like the side-board, its beauty was a thing of the past. A door from the hall opens into a large cheerless room on the north. We step inside. A bed occupies one corner. An open fire-place and a fine mirror above the mantle are the only tokens of comfort. The room to the south was locked. It is filled with books and other material, put there by the owner for safe keeping. "The things are worth nothing," commented our hostess, but the comment failed to satisfy our curiosity. At the east end of the veranda, extending along the south side of the house, is a small room. We tried the door. It would not open. From the ground below we could see through the window that it was filled with books and various sorts of old documents. The whole building is sadly in need of repair. Still, you can see in it the remains of comfort—even elegance. The late owner, Edmund Menard, died a short time ago. He was the son of Pierre Menard, the first lieutenant-governor of Illinois. Born in 1813; a member of the legislature held at Vandalia in 1837. Mr. Menard is said to have been a peculiar man, but very intelligent, well educated, noted for his kindness to the poor, caring nothing for political distinction, and careless with regard to dress. Had he been ambitious for public life, his ability, personal popularity, and the influence of an old and honored name would

have secured him almost any position within the gift of the people of Illinois.

We bid adieu to the Menard mansion and cross the river at the ferry. The width of the stream at this point is some two hundred and forty yards. Once a wooden bridge stood here, but the only traces of it you now see is the ripple of the water over the spot where a stone pier used to stand. It is a splendid ferry. The boat is fastened by means of two ropes, with pulleys, to a strong wire cable reaching from bank to bank. It is very easy to handle. All that the ferryman does is to head the boat diagonally up the stream, and the water striking it obliquely, carries it straight across. A couple of planks dropped into the river from the side of the boat where the current strikes, increases the speed.

We are now in town. Our first point of interest is the Bond residence, about a mile back and a short distance north of the street leading directly west from the ferry. We pass near the site of the old Edgar house. Further on is the Kaskaskia hotel. We have no time to stop. All we can do is to take a glance at the famous retreat. It is a roomy structure, and one of the oldest buildings now standing. We note the curious looking curb roof and the four dormer windows. A porch, running the entire length, faces the street and gives to the place an air of hospitality. The way for some distance is lined with straggling houses, dilapidated, or entirely tumbled down.

We approach the Bond mansion by a lane leading up through a cornfield.

It is a long two-story house, built of red brick. On each end is a wing some half a story lower than the main building. Large old-fashioned windows face the south. A door in the centre, forming the main entrance, opens into a broad hall much like the one we saw in the Menard mansion. Mr. Schneider, the occupant of the house, welcomed us and, when we made known the object of our visit, kindly invited us in. On either side of the hall is a large room, the only ones used in the building. A broad stairway leads to the second floor. Here we find two more rooms arranged in the same manner as below, but both entirely bare. The room on the east of this upper hall is much better than the rest and looks as though it might at one time have been used for a drawing-room. In the west room you see inscriptions on the wall. They do not add much to the beauty of the apartment, for the writing was done with a lead pencil and hurriedly executed. A part of it, copied by one of the ladies, reads as follows :

This may be the last time I go into this house, for I believe we will have to get out of Old Kaskaskia. Water still rising; rose three feet last night and it raining

(Signed) H. M. BOLDT, M. D.

Following this is another memorandum :

KASKASKIA, June 21, 1883.

Water very high. About 33 feet above low water mark. Water all around, could only get here in a skiff. . . . Country looks very bad—wheat all under water, none out.

Passing up a second flight of stairs we reach the garret. Our host showed us a lookout—very much like an un

used chimney partly fallen down—at the east end of the building. By dint of much effort and sundry knocks on the head from the crosspieces nailed to the rafters, under which we were obliged to crawl, we reach the spot. A moment more, Arthur has climbed the short ladder and sits astride the roof. As for us, we feel satisfied with such a view as we can obtain standing on the ladder with our head protruding through the opening above. The rooms in the wings are deserted. Those on the east were probably used by the governor for offices. The room in the west wing is a sort of mystery. The most striking feature is the huge fire-place, which occupies nearly one whole side. The opening is large enough for a man, when standing erect, to walk into the chimney. To the children of the Bond mansion it must have seemed that this fire-place had been built for the especial accommodation of Santa Claus. In front of the house is a pavement made of large flat stones. "How nice it would be," remarked one of our party, "if we could have these stones for paving with at home." "The Mississippi will have them in ten years from now," replied Mr. Schneider. What he said is true. The Cut-off is fast eating away the land to the north. It is now but a few hundred yards to the river. Every year several feet cave in, and it is a question only of time when the very ground on which the Bond mansion is standing will be washed away. Just how old this house is, we do not know. We are certain it has been here some sixty or seventy years. Governor

Bond lived there at the time of his death, which took place in 1830.

Shadrach Bond was the first governor of Illinois after it became a state. He was born in Frederick county, Maryland, in 1773; a farmer by occupation. In 1794 he came to this state and resided with his uncle, Shadrach Bond, sen., in the American Bottoms. Ex-Governor Reynolds beautifully says: "The whole creation should be a man's schoolhouse and nature his teacher. Bond studied in this college and providence gave him a diploma." Standing six feet in height and weighing two hundred pounds, the personal appearance of Governor Bond was dignified and commanding. His marked strong, though regular, features, his dark complexion, his black hair, his large, brilliant hazel eyes, and his whole physical makeup showed him to be a man of superior intellect and with marked traits of character. Bond was fond of hunting and kept a large pack of hounds. With his spacious residence, we can easily believe him a genial host and fond of the company of his friends. In 1812 he was elected the first delegate from the territory of Illinois to congress. He was appointed register of the land office at Kaskaskia after the expiration of his term of office as governor.

From the Bond mansion we drove out to the ruins of the Cavanaugh house, at the northwestern extremity of the island. The road lay along the bank of the Cut-off, sometimes uncomfortably near. Great chunks of earth are continually falling in. Every time the river rises

several feet are swept away. Of the house, nothing remains except a very small portion of the basement wall. Much of the stone has been carried away. You will find them in the foundations of some newly erected houses at Evansville. A few orchard trees are still standing. A heavy field of corn hides the view from the south and gives the place a pent up appearance. A couple of skiffs were moored at the foot of the rubbish. The current strikes here with probably greater force than at any other point along the river. The site of the Cavanaugh house will soon be covered by the restless stream. The soil surrounding Kaskaskia is sandy and very fertile. Crops grow almost without cultivation. We passed through some of the finest fields of corn I ever saw. But, with all its fertility, the people find little heart to till the land. At any time it may overflow and the whole year's labor be lost. The loose texture of the soil makes it peculiarly susceptible to the influence of the water. On the immediate bank of the Cut-off you see great cracks in the soil, and huge pieces are apt to go tumbling down without a moment's warning. Our stay at the Cavanaugh house is brief. There is nothing to keep us. One of our party carries away a small fragment as a relic for her grandmother. The Cavanaugh house was built from the material of the old Morrison residence.

The day is now well gone. We set out on our return. We halt at what seems to be a public well and water our team. There is the church and other objects of interest we have not yet vis-

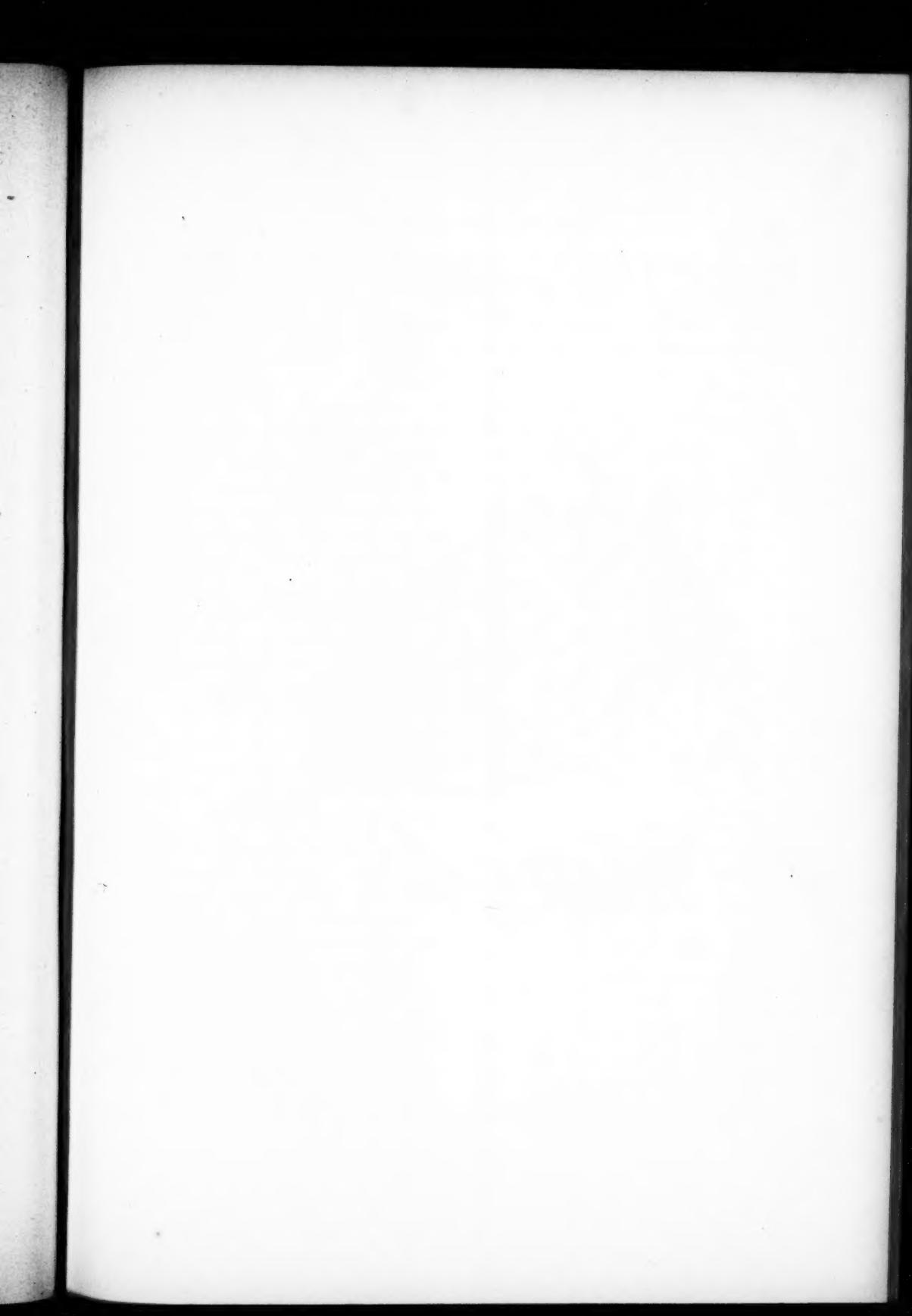
ited. The church dates back to the very founding of Kaskaskia. Originally it was a small wooden structure. In 1714 a stone church was erected by the French government, said to be quite a building for its day. It was replaced by another in 1774. This was a poorly put up structure. We are told it was taken down in 1801 on account of fissures in the wall. The fourth building lasted till 1838. In 1843 a brick building, one hundred by eighty-five feet, was erected. The church is kept in good repair. The walls are adorned with oil paintings representing scenes from the life of Christ. These pictures are said to be of considerable value, and their carved frames are quite beautiful. A huge pipe organ stands in the gallery in the rear. It is a grand instrument, but by no means attractive. The skeleton, not encased, is exposed to view, and its half-finished appearance detracts much from its dignity. An object of historic interest is the old bell. It is a remnant of the Rock church. The bell was cast in France, in 1741, and was sent to Louis Buyat, a prominent citizen of Kaskaskia. By him it was presented to the church. It is the oldest bell in the Mississippi valley, and, as a relic, may be said to rival the one at Philadelphia. A committee was sent from New Orleans some time ago to carry it away. The people were loth to part with it and for some time objected; but they finally gave their consent. The visitor may now see the bell on exhibition at the Southern Exposition. Of the old frame convent, so long famous, nothing remains. The

state house has also been torn down and the materials in it used for other purposes.

In the spring of 1825 Kaskaskia entertained a distinguished visitor—General LaFayette. It was a grand holiday. A banquet was given at the hotel and a reception at the Edgar House. The day's festivity closed with a ball at the residence of William Morrison. Late in the evening an Indian squaw approached LaFayette and handed him a torn, old and faded letter. Several years before it seems that LaFayette had written a letter to her father. The old chief preserved it carefully and at his death willed it to his daughter. Knowing that LaFayette was to be in town, this woman had ridden all day long and arrived barely in time to present her letter and have a talk with the man of whom she had heard so often.*

A piece of level ground partly enclosed and a few posts here and there show where the Edgar House used to stand. You can find relics from it all over this section of the country. It was a spacious structure, and, in its time, a centre of gay and fashionable society. The building was something on the plan of the Menard mansion; rather plainer, perhaps, in outward appearance, but it had a similar hip roof and the same long veranda. General Edgar was one of the most prominent figures in Kaskaskia, and for a long time was the wealthiest man in Illinois.

* The facts regarding the letter and Indian squaw may be found in 'The History of Randolph County,' by John R. Williams, p. 26.





Western Eng. Pub. Co.

R. Gilmore

He was large, portly and very prepossessing in appearance ; was married, but had no children. Some have accused him of being over-gallant among the ladies. He was a native of Ireland. Came to Kaskaskia in 1784. Died in 1832. Through sympathy, stimulated, perhaps, by his American wife, he left the English naval service and enlisted in our cause. Though not a lawyer, he served as justice of the peace and judge of the common pleas. He was afterwards appointed major-general of the Illinois militia.

We bid adieu to Kaskaskia and drive toward the ferry. At the bank we wait till the boat is brought from the other side. Again we are gliding over the water. Now we drive up the embank-

ment. A moment later we are whirling along at the foot of the bluff. Again we pass the Reily homestead, the old store, the well and the mill. Again we cross the wooden bridge. As we ascend the bluff we turn round to get a last glimpse at the pristine village. You may not go into raptures over a visit to Kaskaskia, but you can not help being impressed. You feel that you have spent the day in what, as compared with the surrounding civilization, is an ancient city. You think of what it was, of what it is, of what "might have been." You feel a pang of regret. You think of the time a few years hence when all that is left will be — only a name.

ALBERT THOMPSON.

RIGHT REVEREND RICHARD GILMOUR, SECOND BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE OF CLEVELAND.

BISHOP GILMOUR is of Scotch descent and was born in Glasgow, Scotland, September 28, 1824. His parents were staunch Covenanters of the Presbyterian faith, John and Marian by name. They emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1828, when Richard was in his fourth year, but soon thereafter settled on a farm near Latrobe, in Pennsylvania, where, through economy and industry the father made a comfortable competency and gave Richard the best advantages that the common schools of the locality could offer. After going through the common schools, young

Gilmour, with a neighbor youth named Wright, went to Philadelphia to prosecute still further in advanced schools his studies. This step, the desire for education and knowledge, and the going to Philadelphia in pursuit of the same, proved to be the most important move in his life, as it determined for him his professional career and marked out for him a pathway, which he has followed with distinguished success and usefulness for more than a third of a century, making each year one of marked progress and eminent distinction. He early had a

fondness for music, especially instrumental music, and had, before going to Philadelphia, learned to play on a pipe organ. While at school he was accustomed to go at odd times on weekdays into a church near by to practice on the organ. Father Rafferty, a devoted priest, had charge of this church, and young Gilmour and his companion, Wright, who usually accompanied him, soon became acquainted with the priest, the acquaintance ere long so ripening into warm friendship and strong attachment that they began attending the services of Father Rafferty's church, and were so impressed by his sermons, and the sincerity and devotion of his people, that, two years later, they both embraced the Catholic faith. In this action, in young manhood, was exhibited a trait which has been a leading characteristic in his entire subsequent life. The step, though somewhat unusual and bold in one who had received the religious instruction and influence of young Gilmour, was taken as the result of the most careful consideration, intelligent thought and decision on his own part, entirely uninfluenced and unbiased by either Father Rafferty or those of his church. It was simply and merely a matter of principle and duty with the young man, followed by concordant acting. It was a great surprise, to say the least, to his parents, but later in life his mother embraced the same faith, and afterwards resided with the son, the father being dead.

On casting his lot with this church of his choice, he, with young Wright, en-

tered the Mt. St. Mary's college at Emmitsburg, Maryland, with the intention of entering the ministry, and pursued a seven years' course. Completing his theological studies, he went to Cincinnati, where, August 30, 1852, being then about twenty-eight years old, he was ordained a priest by Archbishop Purcell.

He at once entered upon active life and work in the calling he had chosen and was sent to Portsmouth, Ohio—doing likewise work in Ironton, Gallipolis and Wilkesville, giving five years of systematic, hard work to these fields and establishing a church and school in every mission. At Portsmouth especially, everything was very prosperous under his administration, growing from little more than a mere mission to a large and powerful congregation, with large and commodious and attractive buildings, and thorough and completely equipped schools. During these five years he had so left his impress and touch on everything connected with his work that his superiors saw at once that he was not only fitted for, but much needed in greatly extended and more important fields. He was therefore called to the pastorate of St. Patrick's church in Cincinnati. He entered upon these new and enlarged duties and responsibilities with great energy and force, among other work done by him being the building of a school house, then the finest in the state. No one has ever taken a more active part in advancing Catholic education than has he. Besides his other labors, he has compiled 'School Recreations,' a collection of songs and

hymns, a Bible history and a series of readers. Ten years were passed at Cincinnati as pastor of St. Patrick's, years satisfactory to himself and his people, when he was elected to the professorship of mathematics and Latin—for both of which branches he had a peculiar aptitude—in Mount St. Mary's college, Cincinnati. This position he filled with signal ability for a year and a half, when he went to Dayton, Ohio, to assume control of St. Joseph's church at that place. Here he took up his trust with accustomed energy and zeal—one of the first things undertaken by him being the building of a school-house for the children of his people.

About this time Bishop Amadeus Rappe, first bishop of the Cleveland diocese, resigned, to fill whose place the bishops of the province of Cincinnati, as is customary on such occasions, met and nominated three candidates for the office of bishop of the diocese of Cleveland. The names of the two unsuccessful candidates are never divulged. These names were sent to Rome, and on February 15, 1872, Father Gilmour was appointed by Pope Pius IX. as second bishop of Cleveland. The record, so to speak, of a priest is kept in Rome, and Father Gilmour's record, as to ability, learning and zeal, recommended him as the proper person for this exalted and important position. He was consecrated on the fourteenth day of April, 1872, in the cathedral of Cincinnati, by Archbishop Purcell. He at once entered upon the laborious and responsible duties of the new office, and from the start everything seemed to be

invested with new life and to feel the influence of his master hand and magic presence, and to partake of his enthusiasm and inspiration. To manage successfully and in a manner satisfactory to all directly and intimately concerned and interested, as well as to meet the approval of the general public, so far as it may be interested in, and influenced by, a great and powerful organization, requires a variety of talent, ability and resources of the highest order.

Of these qualities there have been unstinted measure and ample illustration in the administration of affairs in this diocese by Bishop Gilmour. He is rare and unsurpassed as an executive officer, guiding and directing with strong, firm, impartial hand and leading with steady, vigorous stride and stepping. All the vast property interests of the Catholic church in Cleveland, as well as all churches in this diocese, are under the immediate control of the bishop. In addition, requiring and receiving constant care and watchfulness, are the spiritual needs of his charge. The manner in which all these demands have been met and obligations discharged, shows the wisdom of the authorities in selecting him to preside over this field. His diocese is said to be one of the best managed of any in the country. It embraces all that part of northern Ohio between Pennsylvania and Indiana and north of the southern limits of Columbiana, Stark, Wayne, Richland, Crawford, Wyandot, Allen and Van Wert counties, with a population, at the present time, of over two

hundred thousand Catholics, more than two hundred churches and one hundred and twenty-five parochial schools, with an enrollment of twenty-two thousand children attending the same. Besides, there are the various institutions for all the charities in their large and constantly enlarging scope and sphere.

In Cleveland, under his direction, since coming here, have been built and carried forward the imposing structure on Superior street, near the Cathedral, known as the "Bishop's house;" the enlarging—by the addition of a wing and chapel, at a cost of twenty thousand dollars—of the seminary on Lake street, and many other church enterprises.

In the councils of his church there are few men whose opinions meet with greater consideration, or receive more attention, and he is often called into consultation, when important matters come before it, by the hierarchy. At the last council held in Baltimore, in 1884, he was a conspicuous figure among many men of note, and took a prominent part in the deliberations and debates of that body. He is one of the most instructive and entertaining preachers and speakers. As a preacher he is clear, strong, logical and impressive. He does not ransack dictionaries, encyclopedias and gazetteers, and moldy tomes for high-sounding words and intricate sentences, but deals in fresh, clear-cut, terse, robust and polished Anglo-Saxon language and words, such as all can comprehend and understand. As an orator, he is persuasive and graceful, and has scarcely an equal. Of fine address, he is not

alone attractive in manner, but in matter, fluent, inspiring, and at times impassioned, carrying his audience with him into the clear, upper sky "that purer, ampler ether," leaving it to "hold fit converse with the gods." He is also a strong and vigorous writer—he has had many a contest in the local press with the pen, which latter his adversaries have found to be very sharp, pointed and penetrating to the very marrow.

Some one has said if you want to know what you weigh, see what destiny has put into the opposite scale. Bishop Gilmour has been weighed in a varied scale, with utmost nicety of adjustment, held and poised by varied hand, but never "found wanting." In all his utterances through the papers and elsewhere, he has always been bold, noble, manly. In the "Congress of American Churches," held in Cleveland in May, 1886, at which there were many present of more than national prominence and eminence, the bishop was assigned a leading part in the programme of exercises, his subject being: "Religion and Public Schools." The skillful handling of the topic, the learning and study displayed, and ideas advanced, won universal commendation from the congress and the audience. Here are some of his thoughts, commencing with:

It is an encouraging sign that a Catholic bishop is invited to discuss before this congress of the churches of America so vital a question as religion in our public schools. It bespeaks a softening of religious rancor and an awakening to the necessity of religion in education. I therefore thank you for the invitation to speak before you, and for the selection of so important a subject for our mutual discussion. Observation and history teach that

society must be built upon God rather than man, and it is better to cultivate the heart than the intellect. Both should be educated, but the heart rather than the head. . . . The characteristic of the age is change, the rule of caste has ceased, the lower ranks are rising, the higher falling. Kings are no longer above law, nor rulers, nor law-makers above criticism. The people are a part of the government, the government a part of the people. . . . Let the child be taught religion, let it be a part of his daily bread, let him breathe it and feed upon it till it becomes a part of him.

He has always been foremost in educational matters, active and zealous in the establishing and maintaining of schools. In the address just referred to he said : " Education is the battle-cry of the age, for as the youth, so the man; as the citizen, so society; as society, so the nation." He has never felt it to be quite consistent with his duties and office to take any active part in the common politics of the day, but the country has never had any citizen who was a more warm and patriotic supporter of its principles and institutions.

While at Cincinnati, during the late war, he was often found ministering to the spiritual welfare of the soldiers, and esteemed it a great privilege to preach to them while they were in camp. That terrible deed—the assassination of President Garfield—was keenly felt and strongly denounced by him, and he made it the occasion of a pastoral letter—grand, noble, touching and patriotic—to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Cleveland. He said :

The late attempt to assassinate the chief magistrate of the country is a fit occasion that we address you words of grave and serious thought for your consideration. Of all crimes murder is the most terrible known to society, but when the life of the chief magistrate of a country is assailed, there is not only the

malice of murder in the act, but an attack upon authority. Authority is from God. Kings and magistrates hold from God; hence any attack upon the magistrate is an attack upon God. A hundred years ago we sprung into national existence with such a start as no nation ever had or ever again can have—law, order, civilization, not of our creation, but by inheritance. A country so rich and inviting that the world is rushing to our shores for bread and blessing. As a people we started with a clear recognition of God and a full acceptance of religion. We started with an overflowing feeling of brotherly love for every member of the Republic, let him be north or south. Liberty gave us fraternity, unity, courage, intelligence, obedience, and religion reverence for God. We must teach the young to reverence the old. We must teach the old to reverence God, and must teach all that liberty does not mean license. God's law is above man's law; God is above man; God's religion is above man's religion; religion is of God, and religion must serve and direct the Nation as well as the individual. It is our duty to pray for our rulers and our law-makers, for all in authority, that they may be guided by wise counsels, that they may be God-fearing men, and that they may learn that they are for the people, not the people for them. It is our duty to pray for the chief magistrate of the Nation that God may restore him to health, temper his actions with mercy and justice, strengthen his hands to guide and direct the destinies of the country, and to enlighten him to chose the right and reject the wrong; not forgetting that his office makes his person sacred, and law gives him power and the right to obedience. It is also our duty to pray for our common country, that peace may reign within, that unity and brotherly love shall guide citizens in their intercourse, one with another; that religious strife and contentions will cease, that the weak shall be protected against the strong, and that no man shall suffer injustice; that life and property shall be protected, and that law and order shall prevail. To ask God to grant us peace and unity and an increase of religion and virtue among all, there will be added for one month the prayer *Pro Pace*, in all masses, and in all the churches of the diocese there will be recited for the same time and intention five Our Fathers and four Hail Marys immediately after the public services.

Bishop Gilmour has seldom appeared before the public in the capacity of a speaker, the first instance of the kind

being on the Fourth of July, 1881, the nation's natal day, when the usual holiday exercises and customs were laid aside and the vast outpouring of people from the city and adjoining towns gathered in the Public Square to give public expression in a meeting, presided over by the mayor of the city and many of its distinguished citizens, to their grief in the common sorrow. The committee of arrangements had very properly and wisely extended an invitation to the bishop to be present on the occasion. He, however, was absent from the city at the time the order of exercises was being made up, and did not return until they were well under way, when, being informed of what was taking place, and of the general desire that he should be present, he replied: "Certainly; I shall consider it both a duty and a pleasure." And, although tired, travel-stained and weary, he at once joined the gathering, and, without preparation, made one of the most touching, eloquent and masterly addresses of the occasion. His power over an audience was here displayed, and was wonderful and marvelous. By nature he is polished, by culture classical and scholarly, and is in possession of that force and quality of which Euripides speaks when he says, "The gates that steel excludes, resistless eloquence shall enter." In his remarks the bishop said:

The chief magistrate of a great country—a man so calm, so noble in his manhood, so dignified in his magisterial career that, no matter what the political bias, no matter what the political feeling, he has commanded in his manhood, and in his career as the chief magistrate of the country, the respect of every citizen from the highest to the lowest, let him

differ in politics, in religion or in what he pleases. He has commanded in his noble manhood that abiding respect for everyone. When such a man as that, in the position of President of this great, grand country and republic, is stricken down when going in the act of the husband to see his devoted wife, stricken down in the midst of a crowd, men ask: "Whence the cause for all this?" And it is thought for the gravest mind, for it is thought for the citizen, it is thought for the statesman, it is thought for the pulpit—and gravest thought at that for the pulpit—to ask why such a thing could be possible, that, in the days of peace, when there are no great subjects disturbing the public mind, the chief magistrate of the country can be thus stricken down. It is not that he has been, but that such a thing is possible in a country as calm and as well governed as ours. No man, no matter who he is, but must beg and pray the supreme God, who rules nations and peoples, rules them collectively and individually; no man but that must pray that God avert such calamities, or their repetition in this country—that no man who has a spark of patriotism within him who will not echo the prayer that has been so eloquently uttered here that God may spare the chief magistrate of this great country, to give, as he has given in his short career, a continuance of those two grand virtues that have been so marked in him, if he had taught no other lesson during his long and distinguished career than that of filial reverence so markedly spoken on the day of his inauguration, he has not lived in vain. Standing amidst his fellow-citizens, the head of a great and powerful nation, the chosen of fifty millions, the oath of office taken, in the pride of success and the panoply of power, his thoughts are not of the White House, but the widowed mother of his childhood, who, in poverty and struggle, had given her all for her son. The loving kiss and the fond embrace, on the steps of the capitol, of the mother of his poverty and the days of his obscurity, was more honorable to James A. Garfield than all the triumphs of his military or political career. For this act of filial love and parental reverence, so publicly spoken and so boldly forced to confront and condemn the irreverence of our American youth, let us forever hold in grateful remembrance the name of James A. Garfield.

Bishop Gilmour has great adaptability, versatility and variety of talent and ability. He has excellent judgment, is clear-headed, business-like, practical.

In 1876 an effort was made to levy and collect a tax against the Catholic schools of Cuyahoga county. This the bishop resisted in the courts, winning his case in the common pleas court. When the case was carried to the circuit court the bishop again was victorious, and at last the case was taken to the supreme court, where he was triumphantly sustained in his position. In his habits he is quiet, industrious, methodical, dividing the day between his official and personal correspondence, being assisted in the former by his private secretary. He is still a close, hard student, and retains yet his fondness for mathematics. Simple and frugal, his apartments are the same in their appointments as those of the priests. Dignified in bearing, but nevertheless gentle and tender-hearted, yet he has strong elements of character, and when he has once formed

an opinion and believes it to be correct, is tenacious and unchangeable.

Through the instrumentality of the bishop, the *Catholic Universe*, a paper in the interest of the Catholic church, was established in 1874, with Rev. T. P. Thorpe as editor. It is now very ably edited and managed by Manly Tello, esq., who has been in charge of the paper since August, 1877.

His life has been active, useful, upright, manly, and whatever he has done has been conscientiously and well done, all his acts being the result of intelligent and pure motives, feeling at the same time that it is "great to be noble as well as noble things to do."

Putting on in early manhood a robe such as this, he has never been clad in other than royal garments, and walks a king among kings.

D. W. MANCHESTER.

THE BENCH AND BAR OF TORONTO.

IV.

THE HON. THOMAS SCOTT, CHIEF-JUSTICE OF UPPER CANADA.

THE Hon. Thomas Scott was of Scotch parentage. His father, Thomas Scott, was a minister of the Church of Scotland. The Hon. Thomas was born in the year 1746. It was the intention of his father that he should also be a minister of the gospel; he was in fact on probation as a minister; but became tutor in the family of Sir Walter Riddell, whose name is famous in the law courts in Edinburgh. It was through the advice and influence of Sir Walter Riddell that he was induced to leave Scotland for London, where he studied for the law at Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar in Hilary term, 1793.

In the year 1788, when yet in his pupilage, he received employment under the crown in the province of Quebec. At this time the crown, represented in the province by Lord Dorchester, had determined to convey to Jeffrey Lord Amherst a parcel or parcels of the confiscated Jesuit estates in the province. Accordingly Lord Dorchester, on the second day of January of that year, with a view of being informed as to the nature and quality of the estates, issued a commission to Reuben Chandler, Thomas Scott (the future chief-justice), John Coffin, Gabriel Elzeard Tasch-

ereau, Jean Antoine Panet, George Lawes, James McGill, and Messrs. De-St. Ours and Rouville, commanding them, or any three of them, to make investigation into what lands and estates were held, possessed and claimed by the Order of Jesuits within the province, and the manner and ways by which they were, and what portions and parts thereof had been by them aliened and exchanged, and what portions or parts thereof were then vested in the crown and which might be legally given and granted. The commissioners were further instructed that the crown, being desirous to be apprised of the nature and quality of the said lands and the title by which they were possessed, their value, the nature of the terms by which they were holden, and what claims were made by their heirs of the donors of such parts of the lands as were given to the religious order of Jesuits by private persons, these several matters were not only to be inquired into, but reported on by the commissioners.

The bare fact of Chief-Justice Scott, then a private citizen, plain Mr. Scott, being named on this important commission, showed that he possessed the

confidence of the government of the province. The first appointment Mr. Scott received in Upper Canada was that of attorney-general in 1801. He was promoted to the chief-justiceship of the province in 1806. The records show that he first presided at the court of oyer and terminer for the Home District, held at York, commencing the first of April, 1807.

Following upon this in the summer and autumn of that year, he presided at the court of oyer and terminer and general gaol delivery in the Newcastle, Midland, Johnstown, Eastern, Western, London and Niagara districts. On the twenty-first October, 1807, he again presided at the criminal court for the Home District, at which court a prisoner, convicted of stealing five shillings, was sentenced to banishment for seven years. At this day such a sentence for such a trifling offence would be considered disproportionate to the crime. It may have been, however, at the period of this sentence, that in the mind of the court it would be of benefit to the province to deprive the prisoner of British air for several years, after which he might return purified and reformed.

In 1808, the chief-justice presided at the criminal courts held at York, Sandwich and Niagara. During the following years down to the thirtieth March, 1812, he held the spring and autumn courts at York for the Home District.

I must cry a halt here. The temple of Janus is now about to open wide its doors and Bellona reign supreme. The autumn court, it is true, was held, but amid the din of war. Before the autumn

assize was held in the month of June, 1812, the young Republic of the United States had declared war against Great Britain. To most minds this would seem a rash undertaking. Not so, however, thought Mr. Madison, the American President, or the congress of the United States. Had not England been at war with France, and with all her main and might, striving to curb the despotic sway of the great general of the age, Napoleon Bonaparte, there might not have been a war with America. At the present day it seems almost beyond belief that two nations of the same blood and the same lineage could, except for the gravest reasons, go to war.

It will be but right to place before the readers the causes which influenced the United States to take so important a step. The alleged cause was the orders in council, passed by the British government, which prohibited all neutral nations (which would include the Republic) from commercial intercourse with France. It is true America suggested another reason for her hostile attitude to Great Britain, and that was the impressment of seamen on American vessels by the British cruisers. When it is admitted that up to March, 1811, Great Britain had impressed from the crews of American vessels, peacefully navigating the high seas, not less than six thousand mariners who claimed to be citizens of the United States, and who were denied, as asserted, opportunity to verify their claims; when it is considered further that in the exercise of the powers given by the orders in coun-

cil, a thousand American vessels with their cargoes had been seized and confiscated, there would seem some measure of excuse, if not justification, for the Americans in the extreme act in declaring war. Nevertheless there ought not to have been any war. The orders in council were but an answer to France for her Berlin decrees, which were no more or less than a commercial ostracism of England. Under these decrees France excluded from her shores the merchandise of England, her colonies and dependencies. Every article of British produce was searched for, seized and committed to the flames, while the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the subjects of France who dared to violate these arbitrary laws.

The palpable effect of these decrees was to exclude English commerce, while American commerce could flourish with renewed strength. If America could furnish France with supplies in American ships, and ships being free from capture, it is manifest that France could have prolonged her war with England, and for that matter with the world, for an interminable period and to an intolerable extent. How, then, could England, by her decrees, suffer France thus to rule the commercial world? It was certainly in the power of the United States to profit by the decrees and build up their commerce at the expense of England, but the question is or ought to be, was it right for a young Republic thus to fortify the cause of the greatest despot of the time, the tyrant and despoiler of the peace of Europe? As to the impressment of seamen, the matter

being looked into, would have disclosed that the seamen impressed were in the majority of cases British seamen who had deserted their ships and taken refuge under the American flag. If England were to allow this, the supremacy of the seas, which she had acquired, would have been lost, her navy annihilated, and ships, colonies, and commerce a thing of the past; a dream that had vanished ever to be forgotten. But why enlarge on this? The American congress declared war on the eighteenth of June, 1812, and they, the orders in council, were rescinded on the twenty-third of June, 1812. So that before war was well set going the principal cause of this war was removed. In American documents, acknowledging repeal of the order, it is stated:

If the orders in council had taken place sufficiently earlier to have been communicated to the United States government, before they had actually declared war, the repeal of these decrees against neutral commerce would have arrested the resort to arms; and that one cause of the war being removed, the other essential cause—the practice of impressment—would have been the subject of renewed negotiation. But the declaration of war having given the practice of impressment as one of the principal causes, peace could only be the result of an express abandonment of that practice.

I think we may say that if the electric telegraph had been in existence on the twenty-third of June, 1812, it is at least doubtful if there would have been a war between Great Britain and the United States. My reference to the war, its origin and cause, has been suggested by the fact that the grim visage of the demon was appearing on the stage, the judicial duties of the chief-justice were interrupted—the peaceful quiet of

the province was disturbed by the cries of wounded men and the cannon's roar. In connection with the war and its outcomings, the chief-justice was an impartial observer of current events. He was a witness of the acts of the Americans in the capture of York in 1813. With a sense of justice which it is well to remember, in a letter of the thirtieth of April, 1813, he writes: "The humane attention which General Dearborn had paid to the present situation of its inhabitants by pursuing a line of conduct so conducive to the protection of a number of individuals and so honorable to himself."

Chief-Justice Scott's residence was in York; the house was at the corner of Yonge and Front streets, in which Judge Sherwood lived while a resident of York. The house had attached to it, on the east side, garden, orchard and pleasure ground, which extended all the way to Scott street, running from Wellington to Front street, and which is named after the chief-justice.

He took great interest in the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, organized at York in 1812, and was its first chairman and president. The objects of the society were "to afford relief and aid to disabled militiamen and their families; to reward merit, excite emulation and commemorate glorious exploits by bestowing medals and other honorary marks of public approbation and distinction for extraordinary instances of personal courage and fidelity in defence of the province." The society had only been formed a few days before the subscription of

York to the fund had amounted to the respectable sum of eight hundred and seventy-five pounds (thirty-five hundred dollars), to be paid annually during the war with the United States. Medals were also struck in London by order of the Loyal and Patriotic society. These medals, however, never reached the intended recipients from the fact that there were so many candidates for the coveted honor that the difficulty of deciding who was to receive them was found to be too great. The medals were finally broken up and the bullion, augmented with what remained of the funds of the society, devoted to benevolent objects. A considerable donation from the funds was made to the York general hospital, an institution well deserving of the favor shown to it, and the foundation of the present Toronto hospital, which enjoys more than a provincial reputation. As a reminder of the old time of the war, and the loyalty which inspired the Canadians of that day, it will not be out of place to give a short description of this medal. It was two and one-half inches in diameter. On the obverse, within a wreath of laurel were the words "For Merit"—on this side was also the legend, "Presented by a grateful Country"—on the reverse was the following device: A strait between two lakes, on the north side a beaver (emblem of peaceful industry), the ancient cognizance of Canada; in the background the British lion slumbering; on the south side of the strait the American eagle planing in the air, as if checked from seizing the beaver by the presence of the lion;

legend on this side "Upper Canada preserved."

Notwithstanding the loyalty of the mass of the people of the province of Upper Canada during the War of 1812, there were some whose American sympathies carried them so far as to subject them to the suspicion if not to the actual commission of high treason. Consequently, the legislature, on the fourteenth of March, 1814, passed an "act for the more impartial and effectual trial and punishment of high treason and treasonable practices in the province." On the eleventh of April of the same year, Gordon Drummond, esquire, then president of the province, by and in the name of the king, issued a commission to Chief Justice Scott (and others), the Honorable William Dummer Powell, the Honorable William Campbell, justice of the court of king's bench, John Small, esquire, Richard Hatt, Thomas Dickson and Samuel Hatt, esquires, justices of the peace, to enquire, by the oath of good and lawful men, at the court of oyer and terminer of the several districts of the province, into the matter of high treason or treasonable practices committed in either of the districts of London, Home or Niagara. The commissioners were not only to enquire but to hear and determine the matters brought before them. It is not always the man who shouts most loyalty that is the most loyal. It is not to be questioned, however, that in the War of 1812 the great body of the Canadians were of refined gold. The United Empire loyalists had in the American

Revolution been subjected to the refining influence of a white-heated crucible, and came out as the purest of metal, battling for their country in her hour of severe trial.

Between the time of the treaty of peace, however, and the War of 1812, a great many Americans, tempted by the richness of the soil of Canada, were willing, for a time at least, to forsake the stars and stripes for the land floated over by the Union Jack. These strangers were not, in taking up citizenship in Canada, actuated by love of the institutions of Canada, but a desire of gain. Dr. Caniff, in his history of the times, describing the men of this class, says of them: "They would talk loyalty with the loyalists, shrug their shoulders with the doubtful, and with the well-known Yankee would curse the king." There were others who came to Canada to speculate, and at the same time preach Republican principle — men, in fact, who had no hesitation in endeavoring to seduce Canadians from their allegiance. In some parts of the province they were but too successful, especially in the west. At Waterford, in the county of Norfolk, enrollment for service was impeded by these tactics of the men from over the border. That true Christian soldier, Lieutenant, afterward the Rev. George Ryerson, has related that the women of that region, with loud cries and arms around their husbands' and lovers' necks, implored them not to go to the war. The result was that many were prevailed upon and refused to take up arms. Some of these men were arrested and taken in a

schooner to Niagara. The Ryersons were United Empire loyalists, always to the front on Britain's side.

As I am now writing of the disaffected element, and to show that there was good reason for the commissions issued to Chief-Justice Scott and others to try traitors, I will again quote Dr. Caniff. He says :

We must not omit to mention the name of William Ryerson (brother of Edgerton Ryerson, the superintendent of education), who, although young at the time of the war and not enrolled, was a participant in the strife. It was known that a party of Canadian traitors were collected at the house of one Dunham, at Port Dover. One of the Bostwicks, without any authority, determined, with a number of volunteers, to ferret them out. William Ryerson was one of the volunteers. They succeeded, after a sharp encounter, in which some were killed, in taking a number of them prisoners. There were some forty of them, and they were planning the destruction of the houses of certain leading men in the neighborhood. Nine of them were subsequently hanged at Burlington (Hamilton).

I think I may now take leave of this subject and the loyal Methodist (the Rev. George Ryerson, who not only fought but bled for his country in the War of 1812, wounded at Fort Erie, the mark of which he carried about him all of his most useful life).

In writing the life of Chief-Justice Powell, I made reference to the conspicuous part taken by Bishop Strachan, at York, in the negotiations with the American commander for the capitulation of the town in 1813. Chief-Justice Scott was one of Dr. Strachan's prominent parishioners, and a pew-holder in St. James' church. The bishop, ever mindful of the good to be done for his people in life, and never forgetful of them after death, in the case of the

chief-justice, after his death, visited William Scott, a brother of his, in Scotland, in 1825. In a letter, bearing date the ninth of October, 1826, the bishop, writing to a friend in Scotland, says :

I left St. Andrew's on Tuesday, the tenth. On Wednesday, at Dundee, I went with Mr. Kerr, a writer, to Meigle to see William Scott, brother of our late chief-justice, whose mind is enfeebled. I carried with me his father's and brother's watches, some rings and other little matters.

In another passage of the letter he says :

Mr. Kerr of Dundee, who is our man of business, and of good repute, has the general charge and attends to the payment of expenses. We have left plenty of money in his hands, and all the instruction I gave him as to its application was simply this, to treat William Scott as he would treat his own brother in the same situation.

I would like to be able to say that there was a portrait of Chief-Justice Scott in Osgoode Hall. Such, however, is not the case. The only portrait I can present of him is such as I gather from the recollections of those who knew or have seen him. He is represented as being in appearance not unlike the eminent American jurist, Chancellor Kent. He was a man of cultured mind, of retiring disposition and thoughtful expression of countenance. He died at Toronto, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1824, at the age of 78 years, and his remains were committed to the tomb in that town, where they now rest, in St. James' cemetery. Loving friends have placed a tombstone at the head of his grave, with an inscription which not only marks his age, but, I believe, truly represents the man and chief-justice as

he was. The inscription reads as follows:

Sacred to the Memory
of
THOMAS SCOTT,

late chief-justice of this province, who departed this life July 28, 1824, at the advanced age of 78 years. This amiable man will be long remembered for the sweetness of his disposition and suavity of manners as a companion, his uprightness as a judge, his

amiable and endearing qualities as a friend, and his charity and truth as a Christian.

D. B. READ.*

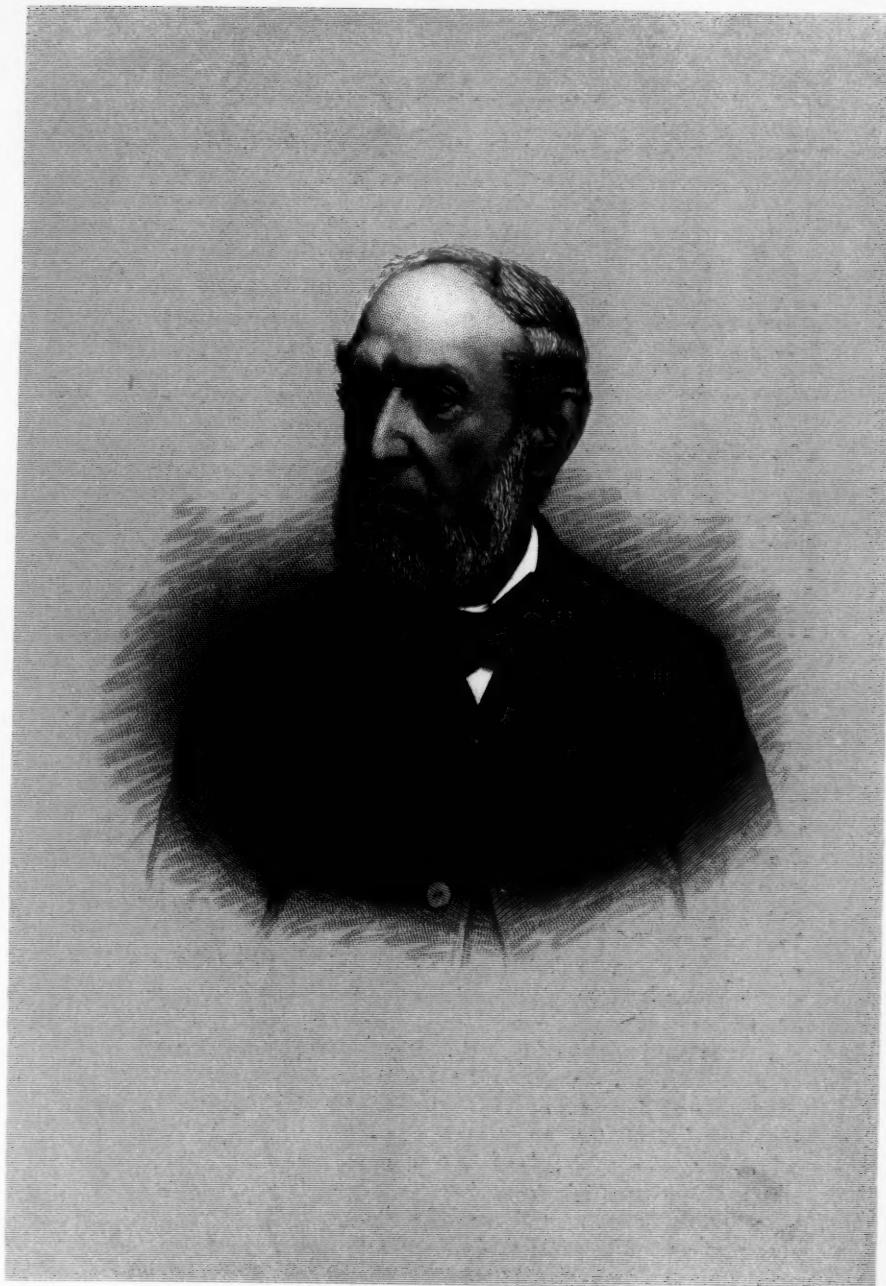
* Since publication of the life of Chief-Justice Alcock, I learned by letter from Clarke Gamble, Esq., Q. C., now in England, that Chief-Justice Alcock's father resided at Edgliston, in the county of Warwick, and that the chief-justice was called to the bar (Lincoln's Inn) in Hilary Term, 1791. (See April number of Magazine).

A PIONEER BANKER OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

A HALF century and more, spent in active business connection in one community, and in the service of one institution, affords an opportunity for a display of quality and character granted under no other possible test; and when the one by whom such service has been given carries into his old age the undivided and undiminished confidence and respect of all, it proves that he has passed a life of purity, honesty and fair dealing. Such record has been made by Robert Newland, president of the old Chautauqua County bank, of Jamestown, New York.

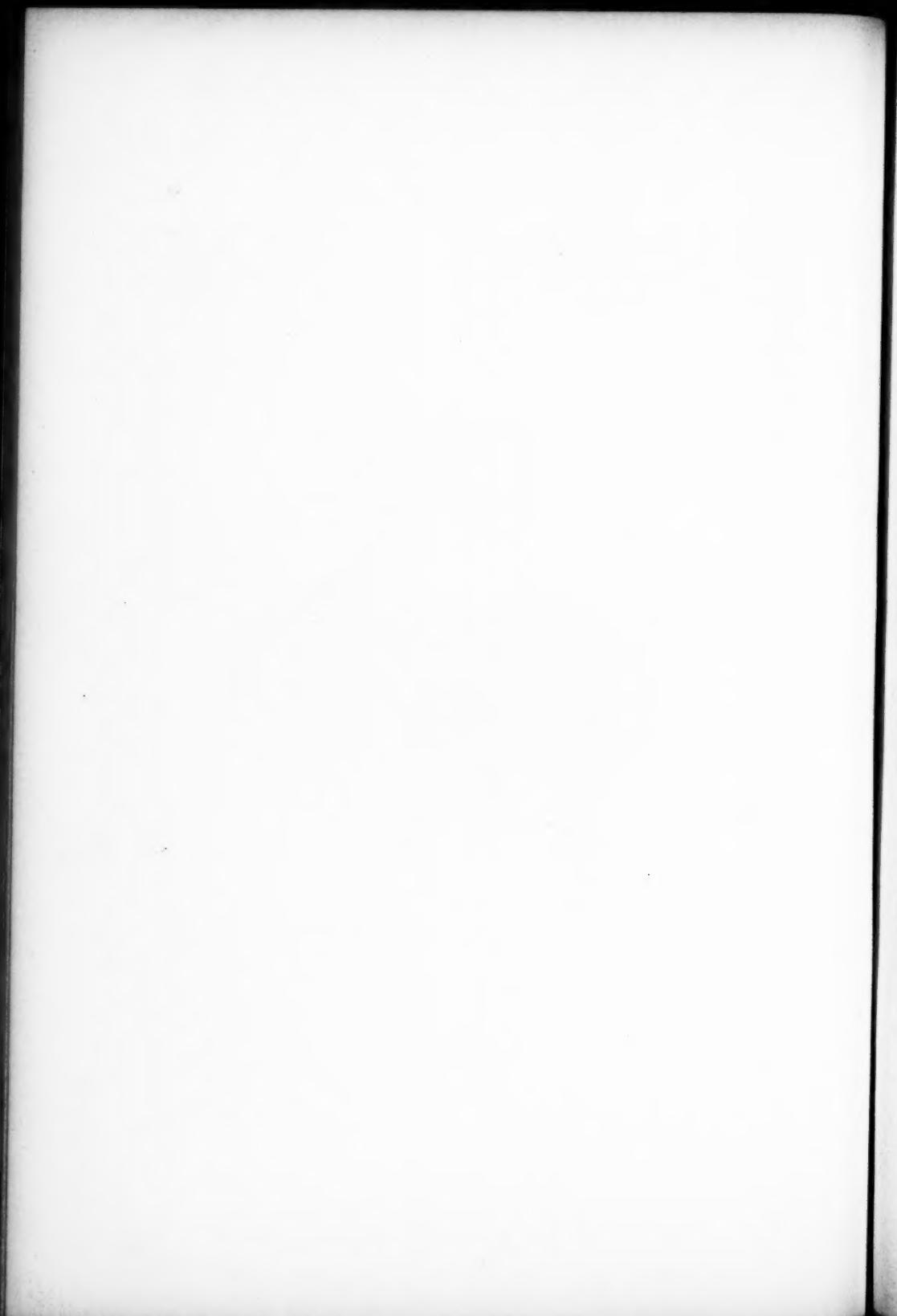
The history of the bank is practically that of its president, and the record of the one cannot be written without that of the other. The institution was founded in evidence of the faith held by certain capitalists of the east, in the future of Jamestown and western New York, and the results have shown that the confidence was by no means misplaced. Its charter was granted by the New York Legislature on April 18,

1831, the body corporate being known as "the President, Directors, and Company of the Chautauqua County bank." At the first election of officers, held on June 24 of the year above named, Elial T. Foote was chosen president; and Arad Joy was appointed cashier a few days later. The doors were opened for business soon after, and a career of honorable prosperity entered upon from the beginning, dividends being paid within six months after commencing business. The methods pursued in business and financial circles in those early days were greatly different in character from those of to-day, and some of the difficulties encountered and expedients resorted to, would cause a smile from the present generation if fully related. "At this period," says an appreciative writer, in speaking of this old bank, "travel between east and west was a matter of time, and considerable time at that. A bank messenger every two weeks traveled the distance between Albany and Buffalo with money packages, but from here



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(Jamestown) to Buffalo, the services of special messengers had to be relied on. But those were the days of good old-fashioned honesty, and losses were few and precautions not very carefully made use of. It is related that one messenger lost a package containing several thousand dollars in the road between here and Buffalo, and the finder promptly delivered it to one of the Buffalo banks. Another messenger deposited his package on a shelf back of the bar in the tavern at Laona for security through the night, while another, more cautious than the rest, was accustomed to put his money packages in his oat bag for safe keeping."

Mr. Joy soon resigned the position of cashier, and in May, 1832, Mr. Aaron D. Patchin, of Troy, was elected to the position. The new official was a man of force and energy, and brought eastern methods and prompt business habits into the management of the bank's affairs. In June, 1834, Mr. Samuel Barrett was chosen vice-president, and on September 30, of the same year Mr. Robert Newland commenced his long and useful career with the institution. He brought great natural aptitude, exact and careful business habits, and a reputation for honesty to his new duties of teller, and was soon in full sympathy with the interests of the corporation and community with which he had cast his lot.

Mr. Newland is of Scottish descent, his father, David Newland, having been born in Dumfries, Scotland, on November 10, 1773. His mother, Jane McHarg, was born in Saratoga county,

New York, on February 15, 1782. The two were made one at Albany, New York, on December 1, 1803. The son, Robert, was born on January 24, 1809, the second of six children, and the only one of the family now living. The early years of his life were passed in Albany, where he was a student in the well-known Albany Academy. He also commenced his business career in the same city, but was induced to move to the semi-wilderness of western New York, and connect himself with the Chautauqua County bank as above related.

At the annual bank election in 1835, Mr. Samuel Barrett was chosen president, which position he held until his death in 1872. Mr. Aaron D. Patchin was succeeded as cashier by his brother, Thaddeus Patchin, who held the position for four years, and was in turn succeeded by Mr. Newland, who entered upon his new and responsible duties in 1840. He held the office for twenty years, when he was advanced to that of vice president, Selden E. Marvin succeeding him as cashier. In 1862 Mr. Marvin entered the Union army. Mr. Newland once more resumed his old duties, and continued them until 1872 when, on the death of Major Barrett, he became president—an office he has since continuously held.

The above is only a bare outline of the record of this pioneer institution. To once more quote from the writer mentioned above,* "The minute book

* "Jamestown Fifty Years Ago," in *Jamestown Sun*, April 12, 1885.

of the bank, although its entries are brief and business-like, and follow the stately custom of the time in scrupulous observance of titles and forms of address, by its allusions gives a history of the time as well as the bank. Thus commencing before the day of railroad travel, a casual allusion later on shows that the era of steam has been reached. And so also in the resolutions passed on Mr. Marvin's retirement, there is reference to the great civil war, and expressions of elevated patriotism well worth preserving in memory. . . . When the bank was first organized it was what was then known as a 'Safety Fund bank.' On the expiration of its charter in 1859, it was reorganized as a state bank, and in 1865 became a national bank."

The bank has been the main labor to which Mr. Newland has devoted his time and given his thoughts, and no matter what other interests or occupations he may have had on hand, none of them have diverted him from his entire devotion to the duties committed here to his hands. His business habits, even at an age which would have justified him in taking his ease and allowing others to perform much of the heavy labor of the bank, have been such as can profitably be taken as a model by all young men who desire to make a success of life. His industry and regularity are of the highest order. From the day of his first connection with the bank until the present, when past his three score years and ten, he has made it a daily habit to be present before the doors are open, and remain-

ing until they close, doing his full share of labor each day, and attending to all the duties of his department. This course of life has seldom had an interruption, and only in cases beyond his control. To the qualities enumerated above, Mr. Newland adds an honesty that no man has ever doubted, and an uprightness of purpose that shows itself in every relation of his personal and business life. He is not honest merely because he has found it good policy to be so, but in obedience to the natural trend of his character, and because no other course of life would be natural or possible. He is frank and outspoken in all things, and no man has ever known him to make a promise and not keep it. His heart is large, and, while he makes no parade of his giving, he has ever on hand some quiet deed of good, and his donations to the public charities of Jamestown are ample and regular.

Mr. Newland has seen many occasions upon which he might have made his way into public life, but his entire lack of taste for occupations of that character and his devotion to the trusts reposed by others in his hands, have kept him altogether from steps in that direction. He has nevertheless taken a deep interest in all public questions, and been a close observer of the current movements of the world. In politics he is a Republican. He has been often called upon by the people of Jamestown to take part in various local measures, and has accepted such trusts when he could find time to properly fulfill them. He was treasurer of

the Cemetery Association for a number of years; has been at different times a member of the board of trustees, and was its president for one term; a member of the board of directors of the Prendergast Library association; and is one of the trustees of the First Presbyterian church. Amid the many public and private business connections that have filled his hands and thoughts, Mr. Newland has somehow found time for the cultivation of his natural instincts toward art, and has had the means to gratify himself by one of the finest collections of etchings and engravings to be found in the West. As evidence of the estimation in which Mr. Newland is held at home, the following, from the pen of one who knows him well and has watched him closely, can not be out of place :

Jamestown and the bank alike owe much to the silent gentleman who stands at its head, and who from seven minutes of nine until three minutes past four on each working day, can still be found at his desk. His career has shown him first of all as the ideal business man, but beyond that there is no one in whom young business men have found a better friend, public enterprises a wiser or more liberal promoter, or the needy a more generous benefactor. There is no one in this community, it is believed, who deserves or possesses in a greater measure the respect, confidence and esteem of those who know him, than Robert Newland.

Mr. Newland was married at Buffalo, New York, on January 27, 1847, to Evelyn, daughter of Dr. Aaron D. and Philinda Patchin. Three children were born to their union, two sons, who died in infancy, and one daughter, Evelyn, wife of Daniel H. Post, of Jamestown.

J. H. KENNEDY.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON came of a sturdy Irish ancestry. His grandfather and grandmother, on his father's side, and his mother's grandfather, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and were of that God-fearing, industrious, intelligent class of pioneer settlers, who crossed the ocean in search of religious freedom and of civil liberty. His father, John Allison, was born at Bellefont, Pennsylvania, in 1798. He married Margaret Williams, and removed to Ohio in 1823, with thousands of others who were then swarming westward, to subdue forests and furnish foundations of solid virtue, upon which

future states were erected. John Allison settled on a farm in Perry, Wayne county, Ohio, originally of eighty acres, where, while winning the bread of life by labor on the soil, he contributed to society those healthful and vigorous elements for all intellectual, professional and public service—honest and industrious men and women.

William B. Allison was born on the second of March, 1829, in a log-house erected on his father's farm, which was in the timber, with few neighbors, and at some distance from the church and the public school, yet they were regu-

larly attended. If courtly graces and refinements were wanting in those comfortable log-cabins of Ohio, these lighter ornaments were replaced by qualities more congenial with manly vigor and heroic resolve; more fitted for the long struggle of the oppressed with the oppressor. There is not in the record-book of American statesmen a page bearing more illustrious names than that devoted to the sons of Ohio. Many of them, in turn, journeyed toward the setting sun to found new colonies, characterized like their native home, by social, civil and religious excellence.

Young Allison was reared on his father's farm, where he grew up hale and hearty, working in the fields during the summer months, and in the winter walking nearly two miles to what was known as "An Old Field school." In that humble school-house he laid the foundation of a thorough education, while his physical as well as intellectual vigor became fully developed. He was also blessed with a careful home training, which has since displayed itself in his amiable character, and borne fruit in his useful, honorable and virtuous career. His mother was a fine specimen of the matrons of those days, and her strong mind, quick apprehension, and executive capacity was inherited by her son.

The lad was not very proficient in Latin or Greek, but he excelled in spelling and in mathematics. In those days a favorite winter evening amusement was spelling-matches, and the boys in his vicinity used to come for him, take him to one of these matches, and enter

him as their champion, confident that he would be victorious. His great rapidity in calculating figures has been noted during his public life, and it may well be said of his memory that it is "wax to receive and marble to retain."

When young Allison was sixteen years of age his father sent him to an academy in Wooster, then the county-seat, where he remained two years, coming home to work on the farm in his vacations. He was then sent to Allegany college at Meadville, Pennsylvania, where he remained a year, and then taught school. The next year he went to the Western Reserve college at Hudson, Ohio, where he remained a year, and then returned to Wooster, where he entered Hemphill & Turner's law office, and after studying law for two years, was admitted to the practice in 1851. An old friend of his father—Mr. Jennings—was made county clerk of the new county of Ashland, created in 1846, and young Allison was appointed by him deputy clerk, and worked for him a year, thus acquiring an excellent knowledge of conveyancing and of the different forms of legal instruments then used. Mr. Stewart, John Sherman's wife's father, was judge, and he was well pleased with the manner in which young Allison made up the journal of the court.

In 1852 Mr. Allison commenced the practice of law in Ashland, and after having been there a year, formed a partnership with Mr. Smith. This lasted for two years, when he again entered into partnership with Mr. Kellogg. In these first years of his practice, clients were not numerous, and he occupied

his leisure in storing his mind on a variety of questions on finance, politics and history, thus equipping himself for future service in the national councils. He stood well, and was esteemed a young man of ability. His father, an old-line Whig, had voted for Henry Clay, in 1824, and was a friend and supporter of John Sloan, who afterwards became Treasurer of the United States under General Taylor. From him, and from the Whig newspapers and pamphlets taken by his father, he received his political impressions, and participated in the Scott campaign of 1852, when John Sherman came to Ashland to make a ratification speech. He began to be sent as a delegate to State conventions, and was an ardent supporter of General Fremont in 1856.

Mr. Allison saw that if he remained at Ashland, there was not much prospect of his realizing more than a competency, and having married a daughter of Daniel Carter, in 1854, he made up his mind that he would go West. Visiting Chicago, which then had a population of about fifty thousand, he remained there a week without finding any advantageous opening. The Rock Island road had just been completed, and he went through to Davenport, then returned to Chicago, and then went to Dubuque. This pleasantly located city occupied the site of a French pioneer settlement in what had become the young and flourishing state of Iowa. Finding a good opening there in an old-established law firm, he went back to Ohio for his wife, and finally located at Dubuque, in April, 1857. Iowa had

been politically controlled by the Democrats, up to 1854, when James W. Grimes was elected governor on the anti-Nebraska ticket, and an organization was inaugurated in the support of free territory, free speech and free labor which culminated in the Republican party. The young lawyer became an active supporter of this party, the star of which was just rising amid sectional storms and clouds and darkness. But he did not in any way neglect his profession, in the practice of which he was very successful in the firm of Samuels, Coolly & Allison, the pecuniary embarrassments that followed the panic of 1857 causing a great deal of litigation. Unfortunately for him his wife, a lady of fine intellectual attainments, was not spared to adorn his home and promote his happiness, for death called her hence.

The Republican nominating convention of 1860 came off at Chicago, and Mr. Allison, who was a delegate, was made an assistant secretary. He was seated in front of the president, next to the reading clerk, and the rapidity with which he cast-up and announced each successive vote was remarkable. He was the first to announce to the presiding officer that Abraham Lincoln had received the requisite number of votes, and was nominated. The enthusiasm with which this announcement was greeted, and the wild scene of jubilant rejoicing which followed, had never been equalled, and has never since been surpassed on the American continent. A new era in American politics was then and there commenced, and it was not

long before the great national crisis which had so long been expected, came upon the country like a thunder cloud. The South precipitated the question ; the North was ready to meet it. The arguments of Webster and Clay against the right of a state to secede from the Union which, when delivered, were regarded by many as mere topics for the display of political eloquence, had fixed the opinion of the North, and there was a general uprising there.

Partisan jealousies were obliterated when Fort Sumter was fired on, and the loyal North echoed with the roll of drums as volunteers hastened to the support of the capitol and of "the old flag." Governor Kirkwood, of Iowa, found himself with an empty treasury when called upon for the state's quota of troops. He was a careful, methodical man, and at his urgent request, Mr. Allison became a member of his staff in 1861, and in that capacity superintended the enlistment of the two regiments in his section of the state, having unlimited authority to make such contracts as were necessary for recruiting and for subsisting the regiments until they were sent to the front. While thus engaged, in November, 1861, he caught cold in one of the camps, and was confined to his room for months by severe indisposition.

Mr. Allison had arrayed himself in Iowa among the supporters of ex-Governor James W. Grimes, who had led successfully the opposition to the Democracy. Governor Grimes was an earnest and a devoted Republican, whose wisdom and devotion to public duty in the executive chair has since

been held up as a standard for his successors in office. He introduced enlightened and liberal measures for the development of the resources of the young state, the promotion of public instruction, and for the construction of the system of railroads which did so much to insure the settlement of its vast area of fertile soil. Transferred to Washington as a United States senator, he linked his name with the great war measures of the day, paying especial attention to the navy.

Meanwhile, the necessity for having a congress of ability and in sympathy with the new order of things, became very evident. Mr. Allison was finally persuaded to become a candidate from his district for the nomination made by a convention in August, 1862. There were four candidates, the delegation from Dubuque presenting the name of Mr. Allison, and he was nominated on the second ballot. A special session of the legislature, called by Governor Kirkwood, gave the soldiers in the field the right to vote. The Democrats made an earnest effort to carry the day, but Mr. Allison was elected, receiving 12,112 votes, against 8,452 votes for Mr. Mahoney, his Democratic competitor.

The Thirty-eighth, or, as it was generally called, the War congress, met on the seventh day of December, 1863. Eleven states were unrepresented, but the representatives who occupied their seats were almost without exception men of marked ability. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania was the recognized leader of the house, and among the other old members were Henry L.

Dawes of Massachusetts, who had acquired a deserved reputation for sincerity and untiring industry; Ellihu B. Washburne, an experienced politician; William D. Kelly, who had well entered on a long career of parliamentary usefulness; and Edward McPherson, a noted man of facts and figures. Among the Republicans who then entered upon their congressional career with Mr. Allison were James G. Blaine and James A. Garfield. Each one of the trio had begun life as a farmer-boy, and had worked his way up the social ladder until congress had been reached as a resting place. It was noticed that they soon became fast friends, and that, during the eighteen years they served together in the house of representatives or in the senate, that friendship was never marred.

In opposition to the one hundred and one Republicans were seventy-four Democrats. Prominent among them were Clement C. Vallandigham and George H. Pendleton of Ohio; Daniel Voorhees, the "tall sycamore of the Wabash," who would occasionally indulge in defiant invectives against the measures taken for the restoration of the Union; and the facetious S. S. Cox, who then represented an Ohio district, and who enlivened dreary debates with sparkling humor and ready wit. Schuyler Colfax was elected speaker, and Emerson Etheridge, who had represented a Tennessee district, was clerk of the house. Mr. Allison was placed on the committees on public lands and on roads and canals. His first congressional action was the introduction of a bill instructing the last-named commit-

tee to inquire into the expediency and necessity for improving the upper rapids of the Mississippi river by a canal commencing at Davenport. Mr. Holman of Indiana, a Democratic economist, opposed to public works, moved to lay the resolution on the table, but the house voted him down, and Mr. Allison's resolution was agreed to.

When certain amendments to the Pacific Railroad bill were under consideration, Mr. Allison obtained unanimous consent to enable him to offer the following proviso: "*Provided*, that no bonds shall be issued or land certified by the United States to any person or company for the construction of any part of the main trunk line of said railroad west of the one hundredth meridian of longitude and east of the Rocky mountains until said road shall be completed from or near Omaha, on the Mississippi river, to the said one hundredth meridian of longitude." The other amendments proposed were lost, but that of Mr. Allison was agreed to.

Mr. Allison's first speech in the House, of any length, was made on the 4th of May, 1864, on a bill securing to persons in the military and naval service, homesteads on confiscated or forfeited estates in insurrectionary districts. After making a clear statement of the situation, in which he showed that substantial progress had been made towards the re-establishment of the power of the government over the revolted States, he asserted that the United States should so use confiscated property as to best promote the interests of the whole country. "We should

not sell them," said he, "because they would be purchased in large tracts by speculators who have grown rich by the war, and who would use them as did the masters who have abandoned them. They are the rightful inheritance of those who have fought our battles, and reclaimed them from the control of the usurpation that now makes war upon us. They have the first right, and this bill secures that right to them. The brave men who have left their firesides and their families, and have dared all, endured all, and sacrificed all, that their country might live, deserve from that country all of reward that it is possible to give. What greater boon have we for our soldiers than a homestead in a genial climate and upon a luxuriant soil, in the very neighborhood of their sacrifices and their triumphs?"

The Congressional action of Mr. Allison was such as to secure for him not only the steady confidence and attachment of his constituents, but the regard and esteem of the Republican party everywhere. He promulgated no extravagant theories—he never undertook to sustain or defend a doubtful policy—he was not the apologist of shortcomings or of wrong doings, neither was he heard from in those intricate and questionable by-paths into which congressmen often wander. He never aspired to make himself the representative of new departures, but adhered to the time-honored integrity of the past, and he was devoted to the cause of truth, justice and civil liberty.

Meanwhile, Gen. Grant had been summoned from the West to Wash-

ton, and placed in command of the Army of the Potomac, the history of which, under McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker and Meade, had been a record of successive disasters. The first advance on Richmond was checked at Spotsylvania Court House, and a series of bloody battles ensued, in which the Confederates made desperate efforts to check Grant's advance. Gen. Grant's programme was that the enemy should be conquered by continual attrition, wearing out their resources as fast as possible, and at however great cost.

A result of these aggressive movements was the crowding of the hospitals at Washington with the wounded. Mr. Allison took pains to hunt up those from Iowa, and to cheer them up by talking to them about their homes, while he took care that they were supplied with every comfort that money could procure. He also looked after the Iowa regiments in the field, so far as a member of the house could do so, saw that the men were well supplied with clothing and promptly paid, and that deserving gallantry was rewarded by promotion.

Mr. Allison entered heartily into the political campaign of 1864, and his presence at a public meeting invariably elicited the enthusiastic applause with which the people acknowledged integrity and devotion to their interests. In Iowa the Democrats worked hard, as they had done the previous year when Stone was elected governor by a large majority, and every state senator and representative elected was pledged to vote for the re-election

of Gov. Grimes as United States senator. Mr. Allison was re-elected to the thirty-ninth congress in 1864, receiving 16,130 votes against 10,578 votes for B. B. Richards, the Democratic candidate.

The re-inauguration of Abraham Lincoln was followed by the joyous tidings that the greatest civil war recorded in history had been ended at Appomattox, by the surrender of Gen. Lee. Soon afterwards came the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and Andrew Johnson became president of the United States. His speeches to delegations of citizens who called upon him, foreshadowed a reconstruction policy which would deal severely with leading secessionists. "It is time," he said, "the American people should be taught to understand that treason is a crime,—not in revenge, not in anger,—but that treason is a crime and should be esteemed as such, and punished as such."

Then came the grand review, which occupied two days, and surpassed anything of the kind ever witnessed before. One day the "Army of the Potomac," and the next day, the "Division of the Mississippi," swept through Washington for hours in successive waves of uniformed humanity, crested with burnished bayonets, paid a marching salute to President Johnson and General Grant, and went forth into civil life, having saved the national ark of constitutional liberty. Mr. Allison saw with pride many men whose enlistment he had supervised, marching with pride under the state flag of Iowa, which had always been found waving side by side with the

stars and stripes where the fight was the more desperate.

When the thirty-ninth congress met in December, 1865, Mr. Allison was honored, as a comparatively young member of the house, by being placed on the committee on ways and means, of which Mr. Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, now a senator, was chairman. He was also appointed on the committee on the expenditures in the interior department, but he continued to take an interest in roads and canals. When the great question of reciprocal commercial relations with Canada came up, Mr. Allison took an active part in the debate, and pointed out the injurious effects of some of the propositions, especially one to strike down one of the great interests of the West,—the production of live animals. So far as lumber, the fisheries, and other matters were concerned, the new tariff act about to go into operation would protect those interests.

In March, 1866, Mr. Allison entered the field of financial debate, in which he has since been such a conspicuous figure. A new loan bill was under discussion, and its opponents had presented arguments in favor or against the particular policy that should be pursued by the secretary of the treasury under its administration.

A bill providing for the construction of a ship-canal around the falls of Niagara, received the earnest support of Mr. Allison, who ably urged the establishment of a cheap and easy transit from the points of production to the markets of the world.

Payment of the vast indebtedness caused by the war, made it necessary to increase taxation, and an elaborate tax-bill was framed. It was discussed at length at each end of the capitol, and a committee of conference was finally appointed to reconcile the disagreeing votes of the two houses. Mr. Allison was one of the managers of the conference on the part of the house, and it became his duty to defend certain features of the conference report. Almost every representative favored the imposition of heavy taxes, yet desired to have some matter in which his constituents were especially interested exempted. Banks, gas-companies, railroads, and other corporations had their especial champions. Mr. Allison met their arguments successively with such explanations as often satisfied them, while the house was convinced that the report was just and correct. He had endeavored to have the income-tax amended by making the exemption \$1,000 instead of \$600, but the senate had refused its consent. A vote was finally reached, and the report of the committee of conference was adopted by a vote of 71 yeas to 57 nays, 34 representatives not voting.

Mr. Allison was the first member of the house who criticised President Johnson's message at the commencement of the second session of the Thirty-ninth congress, and he took decided ground on the great question of reconstruction. Congress had declared by its action that, representing the sovereignty of the country, it repudiated the action of the president in

establishing governments for the states recently in rebellion. "I," said Mr. Allison, at the commencement of a long and able argument on this important question, "I have had no difficulty for myself upon this question of the status of the rebellion states, and have always believed that they were under the complete dominion of congress and subject to its sovereign will and power." . . . "I want no property qualifications, no qualification of intelligence in the enjoyment of the elective franchise." . . . "I believe the hope of restoration of republican governments in those states rests in the masses of the people, the uneducated, the poor, and now powerless masses. Certainly not in the aristocratic few, who, though vanquished by our arms, are still wedded to the idea that the strong should govern the weak at their own pleasure and will without the consent of the governed. Therefore I believe to stop short of manhood suffrage in our legislation is to trifle with the great subject, and render us ridiculous in the eyes of all those who respect popular government based on the will and judgment of the people."

The indebtedness of the country naturally became an important question, and Mr. Allison, being a member of the committee on ways and means, gave financial questions much thought and study. He advocated the issue of notes bearing an interest at the rate of three and sixty-five one hundredths. "If," said he, "we do not issue these certificates of indebtedness or greenbacks in lieu of these maturing compound notes,

the Secretary of the Treasury will be compelled to redeem these compound-interest notes, and issue in lieu thereof United States five-twenty bonds, bearing six per cent. in gold, as he cannot redeem them with the accruing revenues of the government; and for one I am opposed to any further extension of the issue of the gold-bearing bonds of this country, if it is the policy of the government, as I understand it to be, to pay off gradually the national debt."

The Fortieth Congress, in obedience to an act passed by the Thirty-ninth, met on the 4th of March, 1867. Without entering into general legislation, the two Houses adjourned to meet again on the 3d of July, when they adjourned to meet on the 21st of October, and remained in session until Monday, the 2d of December, when the regular session commenced. This almost continuous session of Congress held President Johnson in check, and he did all in his power to obstruct the reconstruction programme which Congress had adopted. The tenure of office bill, passed over the President's veto, took from the executive the power of removing the heads of departments, unless with the consent of the Senate, but he disregarded it, removed the Secretary of War, and appointed General Grant Secretary ad interim.

The House of Representatives agreed to the articles of impeachment on the 3d of March, 1868, and proceedings were at once instituted. The Senate, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment, with Chief-Justice Chase as its presiding officer, began the trial of the

President on the 5th of March, 1868. While it was progressing, no business of any importance was transacted by the House of Representatives, and the sub-committee of its Committee of Ways and Means, consisting of Messrs. Schenck, Hooper and Allison, sat daily in a room at the Treasury Department, placed at their disposal by Secretary McCullouch. There, they were undisturbed by members who advocated high taxes on every article except those in which their constituents were especially interested, and they could easily obtain the most reliable information as to the workings of the existing law. It was ascertained that with the whisky tax at two dollars a gallon, the seventy-five million of gallons distilled during the preceding fiscal year had produced but about \$15,000,000. "Whisky Rings," or leagues by which the government was defrauded, had been found all over the country, and in one instance even the judicial ermine had been stained by corruption. In a new tax bill, drafted by the sub-committee, and adopted by the full committee of Ways and Means; first, there was a special tax on the distiller, then a daily tax on the capacity of the distillery, then a special tax on the spirit, then a tax on the wholesale dealer, then a tax the rectifier, and, last of all, a tax on the retail dealers.

The new tax bill was a consolidation of twenty-five different acts of Congress, spreading through the statute book from August, 1861, to the time it was prepared, and it was the longest bill ever submitted to Congress. With this

old legislation codified, compressed and abridged, there were many new provisions that seemed necessary for effecting the proposed legislation, prominent among which were the provisions for collecting the duties on whiskey, beer and tobacco by "stamps," thus inaugurated.

Mr. Allison introduced the memorial of A. Penfield, of Cleveland, Ohio, suggesting a method of supplying the Mississippi river with water, at low and medium stages, by means of reservoir in the Upper Mississippi. He showed, in a brief speech on the subject, that the connecting link between the lakes and the Mississippi would be greatly enhanced in value from the contemplated reservoir, keeping up a good stage of water at all times in the Mississippi, allowing the products of a large part of the slope of country between the Rocky mountains and the Mississippi, for transit through this link to the lakes. This system has since been successfully introduced as a part of the general plan for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi.

When the third session of the Forty-first Congress was commenced on Monday, December 5, 1870, every state, with the exception of Georgia, was represented for the first time since 1860, and the Georgia delegation soon afterward made its appearance. The work of reconstruction was complete. Vice-President Colfax presided over sixty-one Republican and thirteen Democratic senators, and Speaker Blaine over one hundred and seventy-two Republican and seventy-one Democratic represen-

tatives. The Republican party was then at the height of its power. It had preserved the Union, conquered peace, and the president of its choice announced in his annual message that comparative harmony had been restored.

The perfection of the revenue laws rendered the duties of the committee of Ways and Means very arduous, as it became necessary to amend them in a variety of ways. The house would occasionally not be disposed to adopt the recommendations of its committee of Ways and Means, and the burden of explanation generally fell upon Mr. Allison, who had a straightforward, clear-cut way of making the necessary explanations.

Mr. Allison declined a re-nomination for the Forty-second Congress. Senator Grimes had been attacked with paralysis in the senate chamber, during the impeachment trial. He went abroad in April, 1869, and after he had been about three weeks in Paris, suffered a second attack of paralysis. Finding that his health did not improve, he resigned his seat in the senate, and the legislature was called upon to elect his successors, both for the unfinished term and the following full term. Mr. Allison was brought forward by his friends as a candidate from the northern part of the state for the long term, but was defeated by George G. Wright. James G. Howells was elected for the unfinished term of Senator Grimes. His friends brought him forward again in 1872, when he defeated James Harlan, and was elected United States senator

for six years. He was re-elected in 1878, and again in 1884.

Mr. Allison took his seat in the United States Senate on Tuesday, the 4th of March, 1873, when Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, having himself been sworn-in as Vice-President, administered the oath of office to the new Senators. Mr. Allison was appointed a member of the Committee on Appropriations and of the Committee on Indian Affairs. The executive session which followed was a brief one, but it enabled the Senate to discuss and decide some knotty questions about the right of some of its members to seats. The first session of the Forty-third Congress was commenced on Monday, December 1, 1873, when the Senate was ready for business. Among the old Senators were Hannibal Hamlin, who had been Vice-President under Abraham Lincoln; Henry B. Anthony of Rhode Island, the *pater senatus*, with cordial words of welcome for all newcomers; Buckingham of Connecticut, and Morton of Indiana, who had been prominent among the war governors; Generals Logan and Oglesby of Illinois; and Ames of Mississippi, who had been distinguished on hard-fought fields; Conkling of New York; Frelinghuysen of New Jersey; Sherman of Ohio; Carpenter of Wisconsin; and Edmunds of Vermont, intellectual gladiators, learned in the law, and able to engage in running debate with sarcasm and force, and with these were those veteran Republican politicians, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, Alexander Ram-

say of Mississippi, Reuben E. Fenton of New York, William G. Brownlow of Tennessee, and Timothy O'Howe of Wisconsin. On the Democratic side of the Senate chamber were those old political war-horses, Stevenson of Kentucky, Bayard and Saulsbury of Delaware, Ransom of North Carolina, Thurman of Ohio and Davis of West Virginia. It was a Senate marked by ability. Mr. Allison was re-appointed on the Committee on Appropriations and on Indian Affairs, and later in the session he was appointed on the Committees on Pensions, and for the investigation of the government of the District of Columbia.

The refunding of the public indebtedness at a low rate of interest; a proposed amendment of the bankrupt act; the appropriations for the Indians; the bridging of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers by railroads; and the entangled affairs of the District of Columbia, were among the matters which received Mr. Allison's special attention during the protracted session of 1873-74.

When Congress met in December, 1874, Gen. Grant said in his message, that during the preceding year, the nation had undergone a prostration in business and industries such as had not been witnessed with us for many years. There had been a general crash among great banking houses throughout the Union, whose credit was considered as impregnable as the government itself. The disaster was crowned by the suspension of the great banking house of Jay Cook & Co., that was carrying the finances of that stupendous undertaking,

the Northern Pacific Railroad. Other railroads, covering thousands of miles of territory, almost on the verge of completion, became as worthless as so much old iron, left to rust on the plains.

Mr. Allison having been appointed a member of the board of visitors to attend the annual examination at the United States Military Academy, met with it at West Point. Vice-Admiral Rowan was appointed by the board as its chairman, and there was a thorough and satisfactory examination of the discipline, instruction, police, administration, fiscal affairs, and other concerns of the institution.

The first session of the forty-fourth congress met on the sixth of December, 1875, when the Democrats, re-enforced by Southern votes, took possession of the house of representatives, and elected as speaker, Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, who received 173 votes, against 106 votes for Mr. Blaine. For the first time, the Republicans found their unbroken series of victories checked, and the Democratic majority in the house lost no time in commencing a series of secret investigations. Drag-nets were swept through the executive departments, discharged officials with budgets of scandal were welcomed, administrative details were overhauled, and no less than seventy-nine district investigations were ordered by the house of representatives.

When the Indian appropriation bill came up, it was proposed that the Indians of the country be turned over to the control and direction of the Army of the United States. "It is," said Mr.

Allison, "the most extraordinary proposition that I have ever seen presented to the American senate, or to any legislative body, turning over the control of more than 100,000 civilized Indians to the Army of the United States, and another 100,000 semi-civilized and in course of civilization, and another 100,000 of barbarous tribes." The great question before the last session of the Forty-third congress was, that of the resumption of specie payments, and the Republican senate appointed a committee of eleven senators to propose a plan which would receive the support of every shade of the Republican party. Mr. Allison was a member of this committee. Senator Edmunds, who submitted every idea advanced to a logical crucible, represented one idea on the committee, and Gen. Logan, dashing and impetuous as when he gallantly headed a charge against the enemies of the republic, represented the other opinion. After a great many sessions and much deliberation, a resumption bill was agreed upon, which passed the senate without debate, and was then passed by the house under the previous question.

Senator Allison entered heartily into the political campaign of 1876, but after making several speeches, he was obliged to leave for the Black Hills, to there act as chairman of the commission appointed by the President to treat for the cession of the Sioux reservation to the government. Returning home after having performed this duty, he again took an active part in the campaign which resulted in the election of Rutherford B. Hayes as President, and in the

electoral commission, which was subsequently devised for a peaceful solution of threatened difficulties.

The Forty-fourth congress having finally adjourned without making the usual appropriation for the support of the army for the next fiscal year, President Hayes issued his proclamation, convening an extra session of Congress. The army bill was of course a prominent topic of discussion, with the question of resumption, and the admission of senators and representatives, prolonging the session until December 3, the regular day for the meeting of Congress.

After the commencement of the regular session of congress on the sixth of December, 1877, Mr. Allison was not only retained as chairman of the committee on Indian affairs, and as a member of the committee on appropriations, but he was appointed a member of the committee on finance. From that time he has been prominently connected with the discussion in the senate on financial matters. It was not long before the question of paying United States bonds in coin came before the senate and was debated at great length. "I admit," said Mr. Allison, "it is a delicate and difficult question and should only be changed or touched after full debate and upon the strongest consideration of public necessity. For myself, I would not by any act of this congress so regulate the value of money as that in this country a dollar in silver would be less than a dollar in gold as an instrument of exchange or measure of value. . . .

Now, with reference to the question of the obligation of the government to pay the present indebtedness either in gold or silver, I think that depends not so much upon what may be the currency of the country to-day as what will be the money of the country when these obligations are payable. But in the meantime, we are compelled to pay semi-annually the interest upon these obligations, and the money in which this interest is paid should be the money contemplated by the contract under which the bonds were issued."

"I represent a state," said Mr. Allison in conclusion, "which is as loyal to the credit of this nation as any state in the Union. We intend, so far as I know and can speak for the temper of the people, that the obligations of this government shall be fulfilled in their letter and in their spirit; that there shall be no repudiation, partially or wholly, but that whatever we have agreed to do we will do according to the letter of the law, and according to the spirit of the law. Therefore it will not do to say that one section of this country by proposing simply a remonetization of silver in a modified form is proposing to violate the sacred obligations of this government. I believe that the people of Iowa will guard as safely and as well the credit of this nation with reference to its finances and in reference to all other questions as will the people of any other State, and as I understand their purpose and spirit thus to be I will endeavor, so far as I can by my votes upon all financial ques-

tions that may come before us for consideration and action, to represent these views with fidelity."

Meanwhile the House of Representatives passed a bill which contemplated the immediate, unrestricted and unlimited coinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1, without cost to the owner of silver bullion. When the bill reached the Senate it was referred to the Senate committee on finance, where it received the support of Senators John P. Jones of Nevada, D. W. Voorhees of Indiana, Thomas W. Lerry of Michigan and William A. Wallace of Pennsylvania. It was opposed by Senators J. S. Morrill of Vermont, H. L. Dawes of Massachusetts, Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware and Francis Kernan of New York. The casting vote was that of Mr. Allison, who had proposed in the finance committee two amendments looking to the use of both gold and silver, and the utilization of both as the metallic money of the country, not only then but in the future, by limitations in the beginning, to be followed at an early day by the unrestricted coinage of both metals and full legal tender of both by means of an international agreement.

The advocates of the single standard of silver in the senate committee on finance adopted Mr. Allison's amendments in preference to the free coinage established by the house bill under consideration; and the advocates of silver coinage accepted them as preferable to no legislation on the subject. Mr. Allison's amendments were thus adopted by the committee on finance, and he, as

their author, reported the bill, as amended, to the senate.

Mr. Allison supported these amendments in an exhaustive argument, replete with information upon the metallic and the coinage questions, and showing that by their adoption the time would come when silver and gold would circulate side by side upon a common ratio, and each would be exchangeable for the other.

The final debate on these amendments was commenced at 1 p. m. on the afternoon of February 15, and continued until after four o'clock on the morning of February 16, when the bill, as amended, was passed by a vote of 48 yeas against 24 nays, 7 senators being absent. The house concurred in the amendments by a vote of 196 yeas against 71 nays, 25 representatives not voting.

The report of the special committee on the District of Columbia, which investigated its affairs in 1875, of which Mr. Allison was a prominent member, attracted much attention, and led to the passage of an act placing the District under the exclusive legislative control and jurisdiction of congress. Two commissioners, appointed by the president, and an officer of the corps of engineers were made the agents of the federal government in executing the laws, while provision was made for the payment of a share of the expenditures from the national treasury.

The third session of the forty-fifth congress was commenced on the second of December, 1878. Meanwhile, the

Democrats, who had controlled the house of representatives for the preceding two, found, after the fall elections, that they would also have a majority in the senate, at the commencement of the forty-sixth congress. A knowledge of this prompted them to secure the defeat of the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill in the closing hours of the forty-fifth congress, and thus to render it necessary for President Hayes to convene the forty-sixth congress on the fourth of March, 1879.

Fourteen years after the surrender at Appomattox, the Republican congressmen surrendered in the capitol at Washington, and passed into the minority. When congress met on the eighteenth of March, 1879, the Democrats had a majority of two in the senate, and over twenty in the house. The Democratic majority in the senate, which then, for the first time in eighteen years controlled that body, changed its officers and servants—not because of any incompetency on their part, but in obedience to the inexorable decrees of political partisanship. The standing, joint, and special committees of the senate were also changed and placed under Democratic control. Mr. Allison was thus deposed from the chairmanship of the committee on Indian affairs, and was placed in the minority of the committees on finance and appropriations.

The Democratic congress again attached to the army appropriation, an irrelevant piece of legislation aimed directly at the purity of the ballot, thinking that the president, who had so evidently

desired to conciliate the south, would not dare to offend it by refusing his official approval. To their surprise, he returned the bill to congress with a veto message, so dispassionate, yet so entirely covering the case that it threw the Democratic majorities in the senate and in the house into confusion, and was the commencement of a political reaction which ended in the restoration of the Republican majority in the senate. When General Garfield was inaugurated, on the fourth of March, 1881, as President of the United States, he invited Mr. Allison to enter his cabinet as secretary of the treasury. Reasons of a domestic nature compelled Mr. Allison to decline the position thus tendered him. In the summer of 1881 Mr. Allison, seeing that with the payment of the national debt national bank circulation would gradually diminish in volume, studied the question carefully and embodied the result of his investigations in an article entitled "The Currency of the Future," which was published early in 1882 in the *North American Review*. In this article Mr. Allison called attention to three things, namely:

First, That our present national bank currency is adapted to our wants; *second*, that the system must be materially modified, or it will die presently by virtue of the payment of the public debt; *third*, that its circulation will gradually diminish, and that we will have a substitute for it.

The first session of the Forty-seventh Congress, which was commenced on the fifth of December, 1881, and prolonged until the eighth of August, 1882, found the Republicans again in possession of the federal government. President Arthur was at the White House. In the Senate, where David Davis presided as president pro tem., there was a Republican majority of two, and in the House,

which had elected as its speaker, General Keifer, of Ohio, there was a majority of ten. These small majorities made the game of legislation the more interesting, as every move had to be carefully studied before it was made. Mr. Allison was again appointed chairman of the committee on appropriations, and was also appointed on the committees on finance and private land claims.

In June, 1882, a bill reached the senate from the house of representatives, to enable national banking institutions to extend their corporate existence. This was referred to the senate committee on finance, and in due time was reported from that committee by Mr. Allison with several important amendments. One provided that national banks might deposit lawful money as security for their circulating notes, and another for the issue of gold and silver certificates which should be a legal tender. This last amendment led to a prolonged discussion in the Senate on the silver question, in which Mr. Allison took a prominent part.

"My financial creed," said Mr. Allison, while debating this subject, "in regard to the currency, is contained in three or four simple propositions, and I will read them:

First. I believe gold and silver of equal exchangeable market value is the only money of the constitution. There I suppose I stood on the old rock.

Second. A dollar of silver should contain enough grains of silver to make it as near as may be in market value equal to the gold dollar.

Third. For actual circulation a limited amount of United States notes, always maintained at par in coin by prompt redemption.

Fourth. As an auxiliary, bank notes maintained at par by redemption in coin or United States notes, and freely issued on terms alike open to all."

As chairman of the committee on appropriations, Mr. Allison had an enormous amount of labor to perform, hearing the appeals for appropriations, reading voluminous papers, and then, when a bill reached the senate, engineering its passage there and through the subsequent committee of conference. His intimate knowledge of every item in these appropriation bills showed his strength of memory and his power of comprehending, almost at a glance, figures illustrating facts, while his powers of physical endurance were tested by the prolonged sessions of the senate. The question of civil service reform came before the senate early in the second session of the Forty-Seventh Congress, which commenced its session on the 2d of December, 1882. Mr. Allison expressed his regret that at an early stage of the debate an attempt was made to give a political character to the measure. He was willing to give the benefit of his best ability to the perfection of the bill, but he should discourage political discussion in connection with it. In due time he offered a substitute for the first section of the bill, making the proposed commission entirely separate and distinct from each and every one of the executive departments, and to have no relation to any

of the departments. This amendment was adopted, and the civil service commission, as suggested by Mr. Allison, was in due time organized.

The report of the tariff commission was the basis of an extended debate on the duties on imports, in which Mr. Allison participated. "If we are to have a fair bill," said he, near the close of the debate, "we must have some relation to the people who consume in this country. The tariff commission told us in the very beginning of their report, and it has been endorsed over and over again, that it was the interest of the producers of this article to have a moderate reduction of tariff duties. I have acted upon that principle, serving and endeavoring to protect fairly every industry in this country in every vote I have cast."

When the Forty-eighth congress met, a Democratic tidal wave had swept over the country at the preceding fall elections, and the Democrats, having a considerable majority in the house of representatives, elected John C. Carlisle, of Kentucky, speaker. Mr. Allison was appointed chairman of the senate committee on appropriations, and a member of the committee on finance and engrossed bills. He also served during the session, on nine conference committees, some of them involving highly important questions on which the two houses were at variance.

The first session of the Forty-ninth congress was commenced on the seventh of December, 1885. The Republicans, who had a majority in the senate, elected John Sherman president pro tempore,

and the Democrats, who controlled the house, re-elected Speaker Carlisle. The fact that the majorities of the two houses of congress were of different politics, rendered the position of Mr. Allison, as chairman of the senate committee on appropriations, one of great responsibility. The Democratic house, anxious to make a record for economical appropriations, would in its appropriation bills stint many important items and then the representatives would individually request their restoration by the senate. The bills would finally have to be adjusted by committees of conference, several of which would often be necessary on a bill before its provisions could be made acceptable to the senate and the house.

When the educational bill was under discussion, Mr. Allison offered an amendment providing that in each state in which there shall be separate schools for white and colored children, the money paid in such state shall be apportioned in the proportion that the illiteracy of the white and colored persons aforesaid bear each other, as shown by the census.

When the river and harbor bill came up in the senate, Mr. Allison vigorously supported the amendment providing for the enlargement of the Hennepin canal, a part of the plan for connecting the Mississippi river with the system of Northwestern lakes, whereby vessels could be transported from the Mississippi river through this canal to the lakes and thus cheapen the entire transportation of that region. Mr. Allison showed that "every civilized gov-

ernment on earth is utilizing her water-ways by connecting rivers and lakes by means of canals in order that the bulky products which are produced in every country may be transported more cheaply than they can be transported by rail." "Shall we," said he, "lie by with our hands tied and gyves upon our wrists and proclaim that here are two or three million dollars to be expended out of the hundred million of surplus in the treasury for the beginning of an improvement which is to connect the great water systems of our country north and south, and that we will not do it simply because it costs a few million dollars? No, Mr. President, if we are able to do it I believe that it is wise to do it."

Mr. Allison participated in the long debate on the bill for the regulation of interstate commerce, the consideration of which had been commenced at a previous session. The great body of the Republican senators sought to frame such a bill as would satisfy the demands of the people for a popular tribunal which would give the public their rights and compel the railroads to grant equal and reasonable rates of transportation. Mr. Allison had some fears, as did other senators, that the bill would be found defective in its administration, but it was so important that something should be done without further delay, that he voted for it, and it was carried by 47 ayes against 4 nays—25 senators being absent.

The compiler, in preparing the preceding record of a long and useful congressional career, has aimed at accuracy,

clearness and brevity, rather than at elaboration. Mr. Allison has seldom addressed the house of which he was a member, and yet nature intended him for an orator; as with euphony and urbanity of tone, he unites the elegance and refinement of the scholar and the calm dignity of the statesman, bringing to the discussion of his subject the most abundant stores of erudition and research. But his vast arduous congressional labors are performed in the rooms of those committees of which he is a member, especially those of which he is the chairman. Untiring in industry, and with wonderful command over facts and figures, he gives personal attention to those bills entrusted to his charge. He is, consequently, always ready to champion them when they come up for discussion, explaining their most minute provisions, answering questions concerning them, and showing how they compare with similar bills enacted in preceding years. He never undertakes to dragoon the opponents of a bill in his charge into its support, or to silence their objections, but he gives them the fullest license without provoking an angry discussion. When the opposition has exhausted itself, he then, very briefly, explains the provisions of the bill, and almost invariably secures its passage.

In speaking, Mr. Allison's manner is easy and self-possessed, and, unless he becomes excited, he makes but few gestures. He speaks slowly, with a subdued earnestness that impresses and wins the attention of his auditors, and his voice, though grave and sonorous, is loud and

penetrating. He never seeks in debate to show his own superiority, or to plant a sting in the heart of an adversary, by personal vituperation. Rarely indulging in an anecdote or quotation, he speaks with a sincerity and force that carries conviction with his argument.

In closing the chronicle of Mr. Allison's long congressional career, it is pleasant to refer to the evidences of his unobtrusive usefulness to his constituency. While in the house of representatives, as in the senate afterwards, he has been noted for his constant and efficient attention to the interests of those whom he has represented. Pension claims have received his especial attention, and when he has once presented one he follows it up, insisting on its being promptly examined, and obtaining additional evidence when it was necessary. Letters from his constituents always receive his prompt attention, and their requests for public documents, etc., are granted when practicable. Those who visit Washington, during a session of congress, on public business, find in him a counsellor and friend.

Immediately after the close of a session of congress, Mr. Allison packs his voluminous correspondence, and starts for Dubuque, where he has a home, modest but comfortable. He first occupied his house in 1857, and purchased it in 1861, since when he has somewhat enlarged and improved it. He has here accumulated a remarkable library of works of political reference, embracing all the official publications of the United States, with the exception of a few un-

obtainable volumes,—a considerable number of law books,—nearly everything published on the other side of the water and here at home, on the monetization of gold and silver,—with works on political economy, the tariff, finance, banking, voyages and travels. On the walls of the house are paintings and engravings, and the furniture is comfortable rather than fashionable or showy.

Mr. Allison has retained the occupancy of his law offices at Dubuque, and goes there every week-day morning, when he is at home, after breakfast, to read his mail, and to answer the many letters addressed to him when necessary. After working hard all winter, he studies in the summer, at Dubuque, questions of national importance, which often require great research, utilizing the treasures of his library, and devoting himself to his work with industry and a regard for duty. It is thus that the elaborate collections of facts and figures which adorn the speeches previously alluded to, have been collected, and received a recognized value as text-books on the subjects of which they treat.

Every year, since Mr. Allison has been in public life, he has prepared a speech addressed to his constituents, giving his views on the prominent political issues of the day as they affected the state of Iowa and the interests of his constituents. This speech he has repeated in different parts of the state, often varying it somewhat at each successive delivery. A collection of these speeches would form an encyclopedia of the national politics of Iowa, where Mr. Allison is personally popular at

political gatherings. His persuasive eloquence, his arsenal of facts and figures, always ready for use, and the stern invectives with which he denounces wrong doings, make him very powerful on the stump. "Of the people and for the people," his identity with the people is the great secret of his political success. Those of his political associates who sometimes express disappointment because he does not confide political schemes and intrigues to them, ascertain in good time that he had no secrets to impart, for his whole life is as open as the day. But in his long political career he has made no mistakes and has ever done the right thing, at the right time, and in the right way, for he is

— "Rich in common sense,
And as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime."

Mr. Allison returns to Washington somewhat before the meeting of congress, that he may get his committee duties in working order. When at Washington, he resides in the house of Mrs. Grimes, the widow of Iowa's great war senator, having married their adopted daughter in 1872. She was a lady who had adorned his home by her virtues and accomplishments, and they were united not only in affection and interest, but in tastes and inclinations, until the golden cord was snapped, and she suddenly passed away on the twelfth of August, 1883.

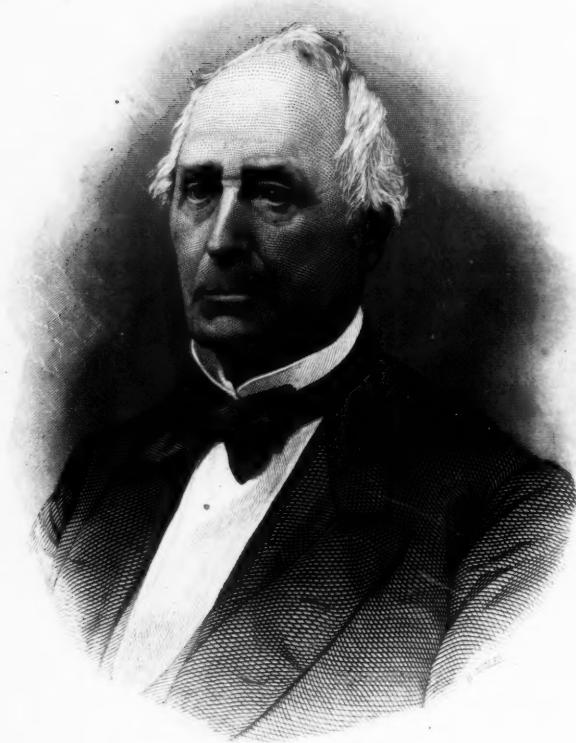
The house of Mrs. Grimes is a modest, unadorned brick structure, painted drab color, which forms a striking contrast with the architectural wonders of the Queen Ann style all around it. Mr.

Allison occupies the back room upstairs as his study, and there is another wonderful collection of books of reference on such subjects as come before him for senatorial action. He rarely is seen at the gatherings of the so-called "fashionable society," but no one more enjoys the society of a few intelligent friends. Fond of anecdotes, and a pleasing conversationalist, he never forgets himself by indulging in an undignified jest or an improper tale.

Personally, Mr. Allison is a stalwart, well-proportioned man, in whose dark-brown hair, whiskers and beard, are many silver threads. He has a high forehead, beneath which gleam his hazel eyes, and, as he wears no moustache, the smile on his open countenance is the more attractive, although you are not certain that he is not reading your thoughts while disclosing nothing of his own secrets. Indeed, he is noted for his remarkable insight into human character, which he intimates at first sight. It is not easy to deceive him, or to win his favor for visionary schemes. Corrupt men who have sought his aid in their schemes for plundering the public treasury never called a second time. There is no element of romance about him, and his manners are courtly and dignified in the senate almost to austerity.

Of the sweet courtesy of Mr. Allison's genial manners in social life, of his constancy to the many friends grappled to him with hooks of steel, of his generosity towards those with whom he has been associated, and of his utter want of political ambition or





THE MILWAUKEE LITH. & ENG. CO.

A. G. Miller

pecuniary greed, it is unnecessary to speak here. Trusting the hearts and inspiring the intelligence of his constituents, while strengthening the convictions of his political associates, his

positive opinions can but promote the interests of his state and the national glory and perpetuity of the Union.

BEN: PERLEY POORE.

ANDREW G. MILLER.

In an appreciative and valuable paper that recently made its appearance in these pages*, the history of the various courts of Wisconsin and the new northwest was given, with a fulness of detail and accuracy of statement that leave little to be said in any discussion of the men and measures of that wonderful period of adventure and growth. In brief recapitulation as introduction to one of the stalwart and commanding figures of pioneer times, it may be stated that prior to 1836 the territory of Michigan included a large portion of the vaguely defined and altogether unmeasured northwest, with nominal headquarters for the conduct of public affairs and the administration of civil justice at Detroit, but with little practical endeavor to apply either on the western shore of Lake Michigan and the unknown lands of which it was the frontier. "At Detroit," says one writer, "there had always been a resort for a settler located almost anywhere in the Upper Mississippi or Lake region, having a mind to go to law; but it might almost as well have been at Washington. Although in what is now Wisconsin many promising settle-

ments had sprung up, there can hardly be said to have been civil government before 1824. But even from thence to 1836 a singular inconstancy and fluctuation characterized the legislation of congress on the subject. This greatly complicated pre-existing uncertainty of rights; thus anomaly and confusion propagated each other."

The creation of Wisconsin territory in 1836, with its judicial functions committed to the care of a chief justice and two associate judges, was the beginning of order in chaos, and the opening of a door through which an efficient and regulated administration of justice could come. Although the new court was not able—because of personal reasons needless to recount here—to assume in all its departments a high rank from the beginning, it was soon re-enforced in character and ability by the appointment of one who not only knew the law but possessed such personal traits as commanded confidence and public respect. This infusion of needed qualities came in November, 1838, when Andrew Galbraith Miller was made an associate judge of the court, by appointment of President Van Buren. Proceeding to Wisconsin, Judge Miller immediately

*"The Bench and Bar of Milwaukee." No. II, C. W. Butterfield, April, 1887.

assumed the difficult duties of his position; and for over a third of a century was one of the most prominent and useful men of the northwest. To briefly outline his career during that extended season of activity is the purpose of this sketch.

The success which crowned the labors of Judge Miller, and the strength which he exerted in meeting and overcoming the difficulties of life, were not the gifts of accident nor the favors of blind fortune. He was naturally equipped with many qualities of mind, and character by a hardy and honorable ancestry, but these gifts would have been of little avail had he not supplemented them by industry, honesty, a purpose to succeed, and an activity that led him straight across the intervening obstacles to the desired end. He was born* near the borough of Carlisle, on September 18, 1801, and after the usual primary and academic course entered Dickinson college, at Carlisle. Upon the suspension

of that institution, he transferred his attendance to Washington college, at Washington, in the same state, from which he graduated with honor in 1819. Entering upon the study of law in the office of Andrew Caruthers, he pursued his studies with such attention that he was admitted to the bar in 1822. His advance in reputation and success was steady, during the sixteen succeeding years, three of which were passed as deputy attorney general. It was at the expiration of the term of years above mentioned that he laid down the duties and honors that had accumulated about him in his native state, to accept the appointment of associate judge in the new territory of Wisconsin. The westward journey occupied a full month, the oath of office being taken on December 10, 1838.

The labors that confronted him were far different in scope and character from those of the settled and fixed civilization from which he had come. His chief colleague, Chief Justice Dunn, was, "a man of intellectual vigor and attainments," who "had mingled his professional experience with a successful and stirring public life on the frontier," and was rather the man of active life that of judicial wisdom and deep research. The third member of the trio, Judge Irwin, is understood to have "displayed a very moderate judicial ambition." The administration of the law was not the only work that demanded the attention of the infant court, but the arrangement of some sort of judicial and legal order out of the void and chaos into which all things had

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The assignment of the judges lay at that period, in the hands of the governor and legislature, and by the will of those powers Judge Miller found himself appointed to the eastern territorial district, which comprised Green Bay, Milwaukee, and the lake shore. It was no sinecure upon which the young and earnest jurist had entered,† and he found a task before

*These notable rules, modified and amplified, according to experience, were adopted for the territory at large, in 1840, and finally, in substance, transplanted into the federal courts of the district, where they still remain, attesting the opportune sagacity of a learned and painstaking magistrate.

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him which would have borne heavily upon a less robust and industrious man. When he opened his first spring term in 1839 over twelve hundred cases awaited him on the dockets of the several courts of his district. This immense volume of litigation had grown out of the commercial prostration of 1837.

Judge Miller filled the position of territorial judge for nearly nine years, and the amount of labor he accomplished in that period can be somewhat gleaned from the statement that he disposed of a total of over seven thousand five hundred cases, in addition to three hundred discharges in bankruptcy. The labor that lay in this great mass of litigation can be measured somewhat by any lawyer, but the full extent of thought, research, disentanglement and patience required in its disposal can only be understood when one remembers the unsettled condition of laws and law practice at that period. "Of these cases," writes one who knew Judge Miller well, "many had occasioned intolerable perplexity, involving the interpretation of local statutes, drawn with extreme incoherence of language, and obscurity of intent. Having in view all of the difficulties adverted to, it would appear that only a devotion remarkably conscientious, united to a strong constitution, could have made this labor possible to the best trained intellect."

When Wisconsin was admitted to the Union, on May 29, 1848, it was made a district of the United States court. In view of the labor expended by Judge Miller in imparting certainty and system to rights and remedies in the new state,

and the labors he had performed for the public, it was naturally felt in all quarters that his appointment as judge of the new district was no more than his due. This popular impression was made a matter of fact by appointment from President Polk, on June 12, 1848. On the first Monday in the month following he organized his court at Madison, and set its machinery in motion. The new labor was by no means lighter than the old, and until the day of his final voluntary retirement from the bench, Judge Miller applied himself with an industry that took no thought of the size of his task, and a stern honesty of purpose that had regard only to the requirements of his official oath. As the United States courts were then constituted there was no division so far as Wisconsin was concerned between the circuit and district courts, the full powers of each being exercised by the resident judge alone. In cases where the sum involved was less than two thousand dollars the law allows no appeal from the judgment of a circuit court. As Wisconsin constituted a single district up to 1870, it followed that for fifteen years all the judicial business in the jurisdiction of the United States within that state, whether civil or criminal, in law, equity and admiralty, fell upon Judge Miller alone.

Judge Miller remained in the continuous discharge of these duties until 1873, which was two years beyond the time when he could have honorably retired and still remained in possession of the emoluments of the position. When he felt that a time had come that

would justify him in the rest he had so ably earned, he announced his purpose and explained it in the following letter to the president of the Milwaukee bar association :

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 11, 1873.

HON. WILLIAM P. LYNDE:

Dear Sir:—Two years ago, then of the age when Federal judges are allowed by law to resign on a continuance of their salaries, I was inclined to accept the terms of the law; but being blessed with good health, and not having the pangs of infirmity, in response to the expressed wishes of numerous highly respectable and influential gentlemen of all parties and professions to retain my place, and not believing it to be proper to retire immediately upon arriving at the specified age, I concluded to continue in office until the expiration of thirty-five years from the date of my first commission.

The time set for my resigning has arrived, and I make the announcement through you, as president of the bar association, that this day I resign the office of district judge of the United States for the district of Wisconsin, to take effect on the first day of January next. An earlier day for my retiring would be agreeable to me, and should have been set but for an amount of business pending or submitted and not disposed of, which requires my attention in the meantime.

I am the eldest Federal judge in commission, and the sole surviving judge who administered the bankrupt act of 1841. As judge of the territorial supreme court I attended its annual terms at Madison, and held the district courts in the third district of the territory, which, before the admission of the state into the Union, was composed of nine counties; and also the terms of the district court as judge of the United States without missing a term, from sickness or any other cause.

Although the infirmities of age cannot be pleaded as an excuse for my resigning, yet after passing fifty-four years of my lifetime in the law, as student in a law office, as a member of the bar, and as a judge, thirty-five years of the time in public service, I hope that the members of the bar and my fellow citizens generally may approve of my retiring from official duty in the evening of my days.

I love the legal profession, and esteem the worthy practitioner as holding the most honorable position in this country. And I shall retire with thankfulness to the bar for the aid they rendered me by their

briefs and arguments in my judicial investigations; and with my best wishes for their prosperity and happiness. Your friend, etc.,

A. G. MILLER.

The announcement of Judge Miller's intended retirement was received with general regret, not only by those who had stood close to his conduct of affairs and could best appreciate his usefulness, but by the public at large; while all joined in agreeing that he had indeed earned a season of rest. This feeling was voiced by Thomas Drummond, the eminent judge of the seventh circuit, who addressed him in an appreciative letter in which he said: "No one will dispute your right to exemption from labor for the remainder of your days. You will take with you in your retirement the best wishes of your brethren of the bench and of the bar. When you entered upon official life in Wisconsin you found it a small frontier settlement; you see it now a great state, with all the elements of a high civilization. It will be one of the most cherished thoughts you can bear with you to private life, that you have borne your full share in that progress, and have thus enrolled your name among the principal founders of the state." The members of the Milwaukee Bar association also joined in a testimonial of warm regard for the retiring jurist. "We received," they said, "with profound regret the announcement of your resignation of the office which you have held so long with such distinguished honor. . . . You have remained at your post in the vigor of health and the full enjoyment of those high attainments which your study and experience have ennobled

and matured, and in your retirement we feel that we experience no common loss. We shall ever cherish in remembrance the purity of your life, the wisdom and learning which have marked your decisions, and your courtesy to those practicing in your court; and you take with you into your retirement our heartfelt wish that our Heavenly Father may bless you with many more years of health and happiness."

The friends of Judge Miller, as indicated above, looked forward to a slowly ripening old age, which should furnish to others the fruit of a rich experience, through many coming years. But that hope was soon to prove its illusion, as less than a year had run its course before he was suddenly called upon to relinquish all that life had won him here, except the blessed hope of a higher life in a world to come. On September 30th, 1874, nine months after his retirement from the bench, he was stricken, without warning, and peacefully passed away. His death occurred at his residence in Milwaukee.

The sentiments expressed by Judge Miller's associates and neighbors in the various memorial meetings of the bar, of the Old Settlers' club, and of other organizations of which he was a part, attested the high regard in which he was held, and portrayed many of the salient features of his strong and rugged character. The resolutions of the Milwaukee Bar declared: "We therefore, as a united bar, take this occasion to express our sincere and profound regrets at his loss, a loss that will be most keenly felt by his bereaved family and

by the members of this bar, and greatly shared by the community at large. It also affords us pleasure to make mention of his many accomplishments, his thorough culture, his strict integrity, his fidelity to truth at all times and under all circumstances, and his eminent ability as a judge in all the varied branches of jurisprudence.

"As an admiralty judge he had but few, if any, superiors among the most distinguished jurists of our country.

Judge Miller was also quite faultless in all the social relations of life—he was a devoted husband and father, a kind neighbor, a true and fast friend and a worthy Christian; verily, a good man has fallen. Since he retired from the bench his life has been dignified, calm and serene, and he has frequently expressed himself to intimate friends that his work was finished, and he was ready for his departure to the better land at the call of his Master."

There is hardly sufficient opportunity in a brief outline of a busy career, such as is traced here, to do justice to either the judicial or personal character of the man whose life is under consideration. The record made by Judge Miller has found permanent embalmment in the legal history of Wisconsin, and only those who have close knowledge of the court of which he was so long the head can understand the magnitude, value and far-reaching influence of his work therein. The just endeavor with which he sought to fulfill the requirements of his official oath led him along many courses that provoked criticism and sharp hostility, but no man ever at-

tacked the honesty of his purpose or denied that he was justified to his own conscience for every decision to which he gave voice. His power and learning as a judge was patent to all. In admiralty law he was the foremost western authority, and his judgment in cases of that character is received with respect by the most eminent jurists of the day. "He had such regard for his profession," said one who knew him well, "that he did not hesitate to accord a truly excellent lawyer the highest place of all. He studied law literally from the time he left college to the end of his life. If he read upon any other subject, it was with a distinct object, but if an interval was at hand not appropriated to repose or business, he employed it in his law library. His standard of professional competency and decorum was high, yet he was not censorious, and to young practitioners was indulgent. In every situation an unobtrusive but quiet dignity of mien is believed to have spared him the least occasion in his life for asserting himself aggressively. . . . Though he could exhibit aptitude and fertility in the necessary adaptation of old principles to new relations, as conspicuously exemplified in some of his admiralty decisions, he was extremely conservative; participating with most of the old masters of the profession, their great repugnance to innovations upon common law procedure. His sense of the sanctity of the jury system occasioned his well-known solicitude for the purity of the box, and declared itself in his opinion that trial by jury is the birthright of

every citizen, and therefore that no majority could rightfully take it away without his consent."

Among Judge Miller's personal qualities were a retentive memory, decisive opinions, a dignified bearing ; ready to accommodate all who came before him in the business of the court, while strictly adhering to and enforcing all its rules. In private life he was genial, pleasant, and agreeable and instructive in conversation. He ever took a deep interest in public affairs. His private life was pure and without reproach. In 1849 he became a member of the Protestant Episcopal church, of which he remained a zealous member for the remainder of his life. He was accustomed to temper every part of his conduct with a strictly religious spirit ; and yet he made so little claim for himself that but for a passage in his own hand amongst his papers, it might never have been known that he had a settled habit of daily soliciting divine aid in administering justice, upon the faith, as he says, of the promise "if any man lack wisdom, let him ask God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him."

No more fitting conclusion to this brief and inadequate sketch of Judge Miller's life can be found than in the following extract from the tribute paid his memory by Chief Justice Ryan of the Wisconsin supreme court :

It is a third of a century since I began to practice before him, and I never saw a judge grow more than he did in that time. I think that I express the general sense of the profession in saying for myself that I have seldom known a judge more learned in the jurisprudence of the Federal courts. . . . On the bench he was uniformly attentive, painstaking and courteous ; unyielding in rule, but indulgent in practice. His patience was sometimes wonderful. I have seen it tried, as I never saw another judge's, and I never saw his temper visibly ruffled. His forbearing self-possession was admirable, and appeared to be a native grace of character, not a habit. Off the bench he was never idle. With little rest, he applied himself to the consideration of his cases with attention worthy of all praise. And so great for many years was the business of his court, that his flagging and conscientious labor would have prostrated most men in their prime. But he loved labor in the way of duty, and his judgments were never rash or superficial. . . .

His private relations were above reproach. His attachments were not many, but his affections were not cold. The ties of kindred were intensely strong and close with him ; and he fostered the welfare of those to whom they bound him with excessive care. As head of a family he was a model for men to applaud and copy. He walked all the common ways of life with the upright carriage of a considerate, kindly, worthy Christian gentleman.

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HON. WILLIAM P. LYNDE:

Dear Sir:—Two years ago, then of the age when Federal judges are allowed by law to resign on a continuance of their salaries, I was inclined to accept the terms of the law; but being blessed with good health, and not having the plea of infirmity, in response to the expressed wishes of numerous highly respectable and influential gentlemen of all parties and professions to retain my place, and not believing it to be proper to retire immediately upon arriving at the specified age, I concluded to continue in office until the expiration of thirty-five years from the date of my first commission.

The time set for my resigning has arrived, and I make the announcement through you, as president of the bar association, that this day I resign the office of district judge of the United States for the district of Wisconsin, to take effect on the first day of January next. An earlier day for my retiring would be agreeable to me, and should have been set but for an amount of business pending or submitted and not disposed of, which requires my attention in the meantime.

I am the eldest Federal judge in commission, and the sole surviving judge who administered the bankrupt act of 1841. As judge of the territorial supreme court I attended its annual terms at Madison, and held the district courts in the third district of the territory, which, before the admission of the state into the Union, was composed of nine counties; and also the terms of the district court as judge of the United States without missing a term, from sickness or any other cause.

Although the infirmities of age cannot be pleaded as an excuse for my resigning, yet after passing fifty-four years of my lifetime in the law, as student in a law office, as a member of the bar, and as a judge, thirty-five years of the time in public service, I hope that the members of the bar and my fellow citizens generally may approve of my retiring from official duty in the evening of my days.

I love the legal profession, and esteem the worthy practitioner as holding the most honorable position in this country. And I shall retire with thankfulness to the bar for the aid they rendered me by their

briefs and arguments in my judicial investigations; and with my best wishes for their prosperity and happiness. Your friend, etc.,

A. G. MILLER.

The announcement of Judge Miller's intended retirement was received with general regret, not only by those who had stood close to his conduct of affairs and could best appreciate his usefulness, but by the public at large; while all joined in agreeing that he had indeed earned a season of rest. This feeling was voiced by Thomas Drummond, the eminent judge of the seventh circuit, who addressed him in an appreciative letter in which he said: "No one will dispute your right to exemption from labor for the remainder of your days. You will take with you in your retirement the best wishes of your brethren of the bench and of the bar. When you entered upon official life in Wisconsin you found it a small frontier settlement; you see it now a great state, with all the elements of a high civilization. It will be one of the most cherished thoughts you can bear with you to private life, that you have borne your full share in that progress, and have thus enrolled your name among the principal founders of the state." The members of the Milwaukee Bar association also joined in a testimonial of warm regard for the retiring jurist. "We received," they said, "with profound regret the announcement of your resignation of the office which you have held so long with such distinguished honor. . . . You have remained at your post in the vigor of health and the full enjoyment of those high attainments which your study and experience have ennobled

and matured, and in your retirement we feel that we experience no common loss. We shall ever cherish in remembrance the purity of your life, the wisdom and learning which have marked your decisions, and your courtesy to those practicing in your court; and you take with you into your retirement our heartfelt wish that our Heavenly Father may bless you with many more years of health and happiness."

The friends of Judge Miller, as indicated above, looked forward to a slowly ripening old age, which should furnish to others the fruit of a rich experience, through many coming years. But that hope was soon to prove its illusion, as less than a year had run its course before he was suddenly called upon to relinquish all that life had won him here, except the blessed hope of a higher life in a world to come. On September 30th, 1874, nine months after his retirement from the bench, he was stricken, without warning, and peacefully passed away. His death occurred at his residence in Milwaukee.

The sentiments expressed by Judge Miller's associates and neighbors in the various memorial meetings of the bar, of the Old Settlers' club, and of other organizations of which he was a part, attested the high regard in which he was held, and portrayed many of the salient features of his strong and rugged character. The resolutions of the Milwaukee Bar declared: "We therefore, as a united bar, take this occasion to express our sincere and profound regrets at his loss, a loss that will be most keenly felt by his bereaved family and

by the members of this bar, and greatly shared by the community at large. It also affords us pleasure to make mention of his many accomplishments, his thorough culture, his strict integrity, his fidelity to truth at all times and under all circumstances, and his eminent ability as a judge in all the varied branches of jurisprudence.

"As an admiralty judge he had but few, if any, superiors among the most distinguished jurists of our country.

Judge Miller was also quite faultless in all the social relations of life—he was a devoted husband and father, a kind neighbor, a true and fast friend and a worthy Christian; verily, a good man has fallen. Since he retired from the bench his life has been dignified, calm and serene, and he has frequently expressed himself to intimate friends that his work was finished, and he was ready for his departure to the better land at the call of his Master."

There is hardly sufficient opportunity in a brief outline of a busy career, such as is traced here, to do justice to either the judicial or personal character of the man whose life is under consideration. The record made by Judge Miller has found permanent embalmment in the legal history of Wisconsin, and only those who have close knowledge of the court of which he was so long the head can understand the magnitude, value and far-reaching influence of his work therein. The just endeavor with which he sought to fulfill the requirements of his official oath led him along many courses that provoked criticism and sharp hostility, but no man ever at-

tacked the honesty of his purpose or denied that he was justified to his own conscience for every decision to which he gave voice. His power and learning as a judge was patent to all. In admiralty law he was the foremost western authority, and his judgment in cases of that character is received with respect by the most eminent jurists of the day. "He had such regard for his profession," said one who knew him well, "that he did not hesitate to accord a truly excellent lawyer the highest place of all. He studied law literally from the time he left college to the end of his life. If he read upon any other subject, it was with a distinct object, but if an interval was at hand not appropriated to repose or business, he employed it in his law library. His standard of professional competency and decorum was high, yet he was not censorious, and to young practitioners was indulgent. In every situation an unobtrusive but quiet dignity of mien is believed to have spared him the least occasion in his life for asserting himself aggressively. . . . Though he could exhibit aptitude and fertility in the necessary adaptation of old principles to new relations, as conspicuously exemplified in some of his admiralty decisions, he was extremely conservative; participating with most of the old masters of the profession, their great repugnance to innovations upon common law procedure. His sense of the sanctity of the jury system occasioned his well-known solicitude for the purity of the box, and declared itself in his opinion that trial by jury is the birthright of

every citizen, and therefore that no majority could rightfully take it away without his consent."

Among Judge Miller's personal qualities were a retentive memory, decisive opinions, a dignified bearing; ready to accommodate all who came before him in the business of the court, while strictly adhering to and enforcing all its rules. In private life he was genial, pleasant, and agreeable and instructive in conversation. He ever took a deep interest in public affairs. His private life was pure and without reproach. In 1849 he became a member of the Protestant Episcopal church, of which he remained a zealous member for the remainder of his life. He was accustomed to temper every part of his conduct with a strictly religious spirit; and yet he made so little claim for himself that but for a passage in his own hand amongst his papers, it might never have been known that he had a settled habit of daily soliciting divine aid in administering justice, upon the faith, as he says, of the promise "if any man lack wisdom, let him ask God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him."

No more fitting conclusion to this brief and inadequate sketch of Judge Miller's life can be found than in the following extract from the tribute paid his memory by Chief Justice Ryan of the Wisconsin supreme court:

It is a third of a century since I began to practice before him, and I never saw a judge grow more than he did in that time. I think that I express the general sense of the profession in saying for myself that I have seldom known a judge more learned in the jurisprudence of the Federal courts. . . . On the bench he was uniformly attentive, painstaking and courteous; unyielding in rule, but indulgent in practice. His patience was sometimes wonderful. I have seen it tried, as I never saw another judge's, and I never saw his temper visibly ruffled. His forbearing self-possession was admirable, and appeared to be a native grace of character, not a habit. Off the bench he was never idle. With little rest, he applied himself to the consideration of his cases with attention worthy of all praise. And so great for many years was the business of his court, that his flagging and conscientious labor would have prostrated most men in their prime. But he loved labor in the way of duty, and his judgments were never rash or superficial.

His private relations were above reproach. His attachments were not many, but his affections were not cold. The ties of kindred were intensely strong and close with him; and he fostered the welfare of those to whom they bound him with excessive care. As head of a family he was a model for men to applaud and copy. He walked all the common ways of life with the upright carriage of a considerate, kindly, worthy Christian gentleman.

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

JOSEPH L. HALL, ESQ., PRESIDENT OF THE HALL'S SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY.

FORT WASHINGTON, in 1796, was the most important and considerable structure north and west of the Ohio river. It was torn down St. Patrick's day, A. D. 1808, and all that saved the old fortification from being entirely a historical reminiscence, is the old-fashioned lock, (about six by ten inches in dimension), now in the possession of the heirs of the late Joseph Coppin, who was present upon the occasion of demolishing that rude embodiment of the martial age in our territorial history, and saved both lock and key from the *debris*. These remain, mute reminders of a people who were "armed so strong in honesty," that nothing more than the revolution of that key was needed to safely guard whatever treasures may have been under its protection.

When, in 1817, the bank of the United States, at Philadelphia, established a branch in Cincinnati, it sent its coin and currency over the mountains and down Ohio river from Pittsburg in iron chests. These strong boxes constituted the vaults of the famous United States bank with its enormous capital and immense deposits. The United States bank building, which stood upon Main street, east side, below Fourth, upon ground now occupied by the Commercial bank, of Cincinnati, is also saved from "being precipitated into the

opaque sediment of history" by the preservation of one of those iron chests, now the property of the descendants of the late Judge D. K. Este, who, during his career as a lawyer, was attorney for that bank.

Across the street, in Cincinnati, from the building where that relic may be seen to-day, is the Fidelity National bank and the Fidelity Safe-Deposit Company, whose safe is the largest and the strongest in this country. It has been called the "Gibraltar of the Safe Builder's Art." It is forty-seven feet long, twenty-one feet wide, and eight feet high, inside measure. At each end of the vault is a double set of burglar proof doors, each set weighing seventeen and one-half tons. Within are 1,300 deposit boxes of different sizes, each being furnished with Hall's Patent Safe-Deposit Box locks. This vault is the greatest, as it is the grandest, achievement in the art of manufacturing fire and burglar proof safes. It would "laugh a siege to scorn," and was built by the company of which Joseph L. Hall is the founder and president.

Mirabeau once said: "Morality! what is it, that it should dim my pathway to the skies?" So may the reader ask: "Morality! what has that to do with civilization?" For it seems the farther and the farther we leave the past behind



Western Biogr. Pub Co.

Joseph L. Hall
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us—the simple manners, the honest ways, —the days of plain devotedness to duty—the past of our fore-fathers, who laid the foundation of the state and nation—the more need there seems to be for the interposition of bars and bolts and combination locks to insure the lawful possession of property. In the race of diligence and invention to forestall the burglar's art the man that is the acknowledged leader in America to-day is Joseph Lloyd Hall, of Cincinnati.

ORIGIN OF THE HALL FAMILY.

Richard de la Hale and Thomas de Hal held manors in Lincolnshire from De Senlis, in 1165. Serlo de Haula is mentioned in old Norman rolls, in 1198. The learned Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich, was son of Hall, seneschal to the Earl of Huntington, President of the North, and, by his arms, is identified with the Halls of Lincolnshire.

William Fitz-William Hall, son of Thomas, and brother of John Fitz-William Hall, of the fourteenth century, was the person alluded to who took the name of Hall as appears from the Lincoln Heraldic visitation, in 1592.

Edward Hall, of London, England, in 1568, bore arms—*Argent, a fess between two greyhounds courant sable; Crest, out of a ducal coronet or, a demi greyhound sa, collared gold; Motto per. ardua ad alta, "through all obstacles to the summit."*

THE HALLS OF NEW ENGLAND.

John Hall, of this old Anglo-Norman family, came in the fleet with Winthrop, in 1630. Others followed rapidly.

There seemed to be a family exodus from that to this country. In 1635, Rev. Joseph Hall came bringing his wife and family thus named—Joseph Hall, a minister, Agnes Hall, his wife, and children—Joane, Joseph, Tristain, Elizabeth, Temperance, Geisell and Dorothy.

We read of Edward Hall, of Braintree, in 1640; Edward Hall, of Boston, 1681; Joseph Hall, in Yarmouth, in 1688; Joseph Hall, of Lynn, in 1674; Edward Hall, of Cambridge, in 1636; Edward Hall, of Farmton, 1641; Edward Hall, of Exeter, 1674; Joseph Hall, who married Mary Dudley, in 1716; Edward Hall, who married Mary Dudley, in 1737, and Edward Hall, of New Jersey, who married Anna Lloyd, the father and mother of Joseph L. Hall, of Cincinnati, who was born at Salem, N. J., May 9, 1823.

His mother was a member of the Lloyd family, whose antiquity is traceable to a distinguished origin in historic Wales. Therefore in the veins of Mr. Hall flows some of the best blood of Great Britain.

FOUNDING OF "HALL'S SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY."

In 1845 Edward Hall, the father, and Joseph L., his son, removed to Cincinnati from Pittsburg, and immediately commenced to manufacture safes in an unpretentious way. That was the beginning of the immense business now conducted by this company.

It was not only necessary to manage the business upon business principles, and with tireless energy and assiduous-

ness; it was also necessary to educate public opinion upon the subject to a higher appreciation of the great security to be obtained by the use of fire and burglar proof safes.

This the father and son triumphantly accomplished. A pertinacity more admirable never characterized human endeavors for success over seemingly unsurmountable objects. In "the lexicon of his youth" Mr. Hall, therefore, never learned the word fail.

In 1851 the father disposed of his interest to William B. Dodds, and then the firm became Hall, Dodds & Co., continuing until 1857. From that year until 1867 the business was conducted by Mr. Hall, when he organized the "Hall's Safe and Lock Company," of which he has ever since been the president. Mr. Hall has obtained upwards of thirty patents for his various improvements, and is the patentee of eleven different bank locks. His safes and locks have always taken the first premium at every fair and exposition where they have been exhibited. Not one of his safes has ever failed in time of fire, and not one of his burglar-proof safes has ever been forced and robbed of a dollar.

His factory is said to be the largest in the world, and has a capacity for turning out more than sixty safes per day. About one thousand men are employed as skilled mechanics and in the general conduct of the business.

Between four and five hundred of Mr. Hall's safes passed through the great Chicago fire in 1871 and yielded up their treasures unharmed.

This company has a branch house in every important city in the Union, and its reputation extends to every part of the civilized world.

Mr. Hall is one of the busiest men in the United States. He is the very personification of energy and enterprise.

Besides giving immediate oversight to his factory, he frequently takes extended tours throughout the United States, looking after the interests of this almost world-wide industry. We close this article by quoting from a graceful writer who has most truthfully portrayed the business and personal characteristics of this famous manufacturer:

"His energy, perseverance and industry are almost phenomenal, and his principles and business habits religiously carried out. He gives strict attention to all the details of his immense business; nothing escapes his vigilant eye; no workman's slighted work goes undetected. No employe can neglect his business nor swerve from his line of duty.

Starting out with the determination to manufacture an article which should have no superior at home or abroad, he has brought his safes and locks to such perfection that their reputation is established throughout the length and breadth of the land; and his active mind is ever on the alert to acquire, if possible, additional security and still greater perfection."

Two years ago Mr. Hall selected a commanding point upon Walnut Hills, adjoining Eden Park and overlooking a magnificent landscape—the principal feature of which is the Ohio river—

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Geo Spence

upon which he built one of the most imposing residences in southern Ohio. This beautiful home is presided over by the amiable and accomplished Mrs. Hall, who at her marriage was Miss Sarah J. Jewell of Pittsburgh. Of their children, six sons are associated with the father in the management of his business—Edward Clark, the efficient and courteous vice-president, who has for several years acted in that capacity; Joseph Lloyd Hall, jr., whose bright business career was terminated by his death at the age of twenty-eight; William Henry, in charge of the purchasing department; Charles Orton, assistant superintendent; Acton Albert, in charge of books of account; and

Walker Pierce, who has the oversight of different departments. Anna Margaret married Richard T. Pullen, esq., who is secretary of the company; and Kate Louise married John B. Hart, esq., timekeeper of the establishment. The other children are Sarah Jewell, Pearle, Chloe and Jessie Hall, all comprising an interesting and cultivated family.

Thus has Mr. Hall achieved the most gratifying success in the business world—affluence and eminence, and, withal, a delightful home circle and troops of friends—that success and that eminence which is implied in the ancient heraldic motto of his ancestors—*Per ardua ad alta.* HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

BENCH AND BAR OF OHIO.

IV.

GEORGE SPENCE.

Mr. Spence is of sturdy English stock, both of his parents having been born in England—the father, William, about 1793, in Yorkshire, and his mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Wones, at the same place a few years later. They came to America in 1816, and settled in Cincinnati the same year, having come hither by flat-boat from Wheeling, Va. Their residence in Cincinnati was only of about two years' duration, when they removed to Northampton, near Springfield, Clarke county, settling on government land. During the two years that the family lived in

Cincinnati, the father was engaged in burning lime. On moving to Northampton he at once commenced to clear up, improve and cultivate his land, associating with this occupation various other business enterprises on a limited scale, keeping a store and dealing in stock. But farming was his chief work, in which he was successful, having, in a few years, a large amount of well-tilled and valuable land. He was a man possessed of great physical force and energy, which was a much-needed and very desirable qualification in the early history and settling up of Ohio.

The father died in 1847, and the wife

and mother in 1852. Of this family, George was the seventh son and was born May 22, 1828, on the farm at Northampton. Like most farm boys of fifty to sixty years ago, his services were needed on the farm a good share of the time, which he interspersed with going to school a portion of the winter months. He was, in youth, of bright, active mind, appreciating the advantages coming from education and knowledge, and improved well his time in reading and study, as he had opportunity, that he might fit in well into his allotted place in life and discharge well and becomingly its duties. From early boyhood he was fond of mathematics and much given to "figuring," and close, sharp reasoning. Thus at the early age of fourteen he studied surveying, and three years later, when only seventeen, so reliable and accurate had he come to be considered that he was appointed assistant surveyor of the county, which position he filled with great usefulness to the public and credit to himself for several years. The industrious and active traits and habits of his father seem to have been inherited in great degree by the son, for in the winter of 1845-6, then but eighteen years old, we find him teaching school, reading, studying, cultivating and disciplining his mind. It was about this period that the profession of the law began to have its attractions for him and he therefore, borrowing a volume of Blackstone, entered upon severe, close application which in after years brought forth good and ample harvest as the result of early, thorough planting and cultivating.

Meanwhile, he had also been attending, for several terms, the Springfield Academy, his industrious and economical habits permitting him thus to do. In addition to the regular course, he took a supplementary course of study at Gundry and Bacon's commercial, business and law college, at Cincinnati, giving special attention to the study of commercial law.

In the spring of 1848 he entered the law office at Springfield of Rodgers & White, both very able men—leading lawyers of that section of the state, and both judges. Mr. White was afterwards for many years on the supreme bench. He remained in their office two years, with no idle moments on his hands seeming to have constantly in mind the old Persian maxim—"Grasp time by the forelock, and you may hold her, but let her once pass you and she can never be overtaken." Marked characteristics in Mr. Spence seem to be thoroughness, industry and activity. These traits were prominent during his student life with Rodgers & White, for he made "steady haste" in advancement. He learned much and learned it well, giving promise, all the while, of future usefulness and honor in the legal profession. These predictions have been fulfilled, as for years he has been regarded as a lawyer of strong mind, entirely reliable and sound in judgment and opinion. He was admitted to practice in 1850, and in 1851 opened an office on Main street, the same in which his professional career began. In his thirty-seven years of practice he has had but few partners, and then for only limited

periods. His partnership with his son, George Arthur, lasted for several years. Since 1882 he has had as partner Willis S. Walker, son of General Walker of Kenton, Ohio, now chief clerk in the office of the secretary of state of Columbus. For the first twelve years he was associated with no one in practice, doing during that period a large and successful business, and giving ample proof that he was "able to hoe his own row" in a profession that was hard, exacting and overcrowded when the amount of legal business to be done is considered. One who knows him well as a lawyer says that he soon came to the front in his profession and for many years had the leading criminal practice in his part of the state. He was counsel in several noted murder cases. In the trial of cases before juries, he is said to be almost invincible—fluent in speaking, original in expression, abounding in repartee, wit and anecdote, and when assailed by opposing counsel in the trial of a case, can retaliate with telling effect. He is of an even poise of mind, which he allows nothing to disturb. In the public affairs of Springfield and Clarke county he has always evinced a lively interest and taken a prominent part, believing that while the state confers rights and privileges upon its citizens, it has in turn claims upon them. There are few men who have done more for the public and commercial interest, convenience, and welfare in Springfield than has he. Whatever would further and advance her material, healthy progress and growth has received his most earnest and active support. For seven years, commencing with 1866, he was a member of its city council, and was elected president of that body on his first taking a seat in it. He took a leading part in establishing the street railway in that city, raised the first stock toward that enterprise, and was for several years president of that company. He is also a stockholder in, and has been one of the directors of, the Lagonda National Bank of Springfield from the time of its organization in 1873.

He was the first city solicitor of Springfield, to which office he was elected in 1853. During his term a measure was brought before the city council on behalf of the Springfield, Mt. Vernon & Pittsburg railroad company to submit to a vote of the people of the city a proposition to loan its credit to said railroad in the sum of twenty thousand dollars. The city had, on the organization of the company, given it a like amount. Mr. Spence opposed the measure before the council as unconstitutional, and that the investment would be a total loss, as the credit of the city was being used for private purposes and ends. Springfield parties had become largely involved by the debts of the company who had the sympathies of the people, and all the leading attorneys of the city, as well as from other places, together with many prominent citizens of Springfield, were employed to influence the city council to adopt the measure. In this movement they were successful. The council finally, in 1855, passed the resolution and adopted the measure. The result

was as Mr. Spence had predicted, viz: the city lost the forty thousand dollars. Here is another illustration, not only of the sound legal and business-like judgment and ability of Mr. Spence, but of the pithy saying of the great American humorist, "Experience is a good school master, but the *tuition is very dear.*" This was in the early professional life of Mr. Spence, but he has ever since been a persistent and uncompromising opponent of monopolies and unconstitutional legislation. It is his good, hard sense, as well as eminent standing in his profession, that has caused him to be looked upon with great respect and esteem by all classes of the community. He is likewise a man of broad, enlarged, comprehensive and liberal-minded ideas and views, and warm and hearty in his support of all measures having for their common end, the common weal. A man of intense activity, deep and abiding desire for the public good and prosperity, he has naturally been drawn into politics and had much to do with public measures and public men.

He was raised a Whig, voted for General Scott in 1852, opposed what is known as Maine lawism in 1853, opposed knownothingism in 1854-5, and acted with the Democratic party since, although differing from many of the leading men of his party. For many years he was the only Democratic attorney in active practice in Clarke county. In 1865, he was the nominee of his party for state treasurer, but, with the balance of the ticket, suffered defeat. In 1875 he was a candidate for

the state senate, and again shared in the general defeat of his ticket, the district having a large standing Republican majority. He is clear-headed, cool, honest, upright, and thoroughly independent in his nature, somewhat brusque, but in appearance only, as he is tender-hearted, a friend of the poor, and is withal, social, genial and companionable. He is an entertaining and instructive speaker, magnetic and inspiring. At the banquet of the Jefferson club, held in Springfield in April, 1887, he made a happy and telling speech, concerning which the correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer said: "Mr. George Spence, one of the most original and brainy men of Springfield, made a brief and excellent speech on the important topic of 'Local Government,' and showed that he fully comprehended the situation and subject."

He married, July 3, 1855, Miss E. Jane Edmonson, of Dayton, Ohio, a relative of the Bayard Taylor family. The great traveler and writer was a frequent visitor of the family during his life, and shared the hospitalities of their pleasant and cheerful home, a charming place of forty acres in the western part of the city. Mrs. Spence is a lady of fine accomplishments, fond of travel, and has a well-earned and more than local reputation as a botanist. She has the largest collection of grasses, mosses and ferns in that section of the state, her collection being valuable and embracing many rare specimens from all parts of the globe. Two children have been born to Mr. and Mrs. Spence, only one of whom, George E., now a young man, is living. Mr. Spence has received for himself and family far more than a competency for material life, and has now merited recognition, respect and confidence from the community at large.

D. W. M.

EDITORIAL.

BECAUSE of circumstances entirely beyond control—no less than the severe illness of Mr. C. W. Butterfield of Madison—the intended installments of "Milwaukee" and "The Bench and Bar of Milwaukee" have been omitted from this number. Mr. Butterfield has given considerable time and labor to the collection of material for these articles, and had them in course of preparation, when he was suddenly prostrated, and for some weeks was unable to use his pen. He is now well on the road to recovery, and, unless some unforeseen misfortune interferes, will be able to carry his work so far forward that the series can be continued in the issue for June. We make this explanation in view of the widespread interest awakened by these investigations into the early history of the northwest.

THE field of historical research offered by that "New Northwest" cannot but cause wonder to those whose lives stretch back to a period when Wisconsin was not even a territory, and Minnesota and Nebraska were names not yet printed upon the map. The youth of these giant communities was so recent that one would hardly believe that there was any past of which to tell; and yet to-day is the season in which a harvest of historical wealth can be gleaned—a harvest that would be lost if long left ungarnered. There are men of clear minds and perfect memory yet living who saw Milwaukee, Madison, St. Paul, Duluth and Omaha rise out of the wilderness, and whose hands were ready and busy in the building up of the commonwealths that lie westward of Michigan and Superior. They were moved to the west in early boyhood by that resistless tide of emigration that set in a half cen-

tury ago, and every phase of development and growth has passed before their vision. They know whereof they speak, because they were a part of it. That which to their children would be legend and tradition is to them the clear crystal of fact. They hold in mind not merely the husks and coverings of history—the dates, the places, and the results—but all that inward strength and fibre and vitality which personal contact with moving scenes can give. They are willing to bequeath to those who are moving forward in the new generations, the knowledge they have gained through such years of rich and ripened experience; and the task to which the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY has addressed itself has found in them a willing and hearty co-operation. Our workers in that field, as elsewhere, have found endorsement and encouragement from all quarters, and we have reason to know that such history as we have saved from oblivion and made secure in these pages, has been endorsed and set with the stamp of approval by those who were a part of the scenes with which it deals.

These men are passing rapidly away. Since our last issue Wisconsin has mourned the loss of one whose impress has been felt upon almost every feature of her material and commercial advance. When Alexander Mitchell chose Milwaukee for his home, almost half a century ago, he found it a mere hamlet, straggling along the river banks, and giving small evidence of the greatness and importance to which it was to grow. No man has done more than he to assist it in that half century's upward movement, and only when his death caused men to look backward and see what he had done,

did they realize that he had filled so great a measure of public good, and made his brain and energy felt in so many expanding channels. His life was eminently useful, and while he was adding to his own possessions he was also making his capital one of the means for the upbuilding of his adopted city

and state. When the life of Alexander Mitchell comes to be written with reference to its bearing upon the community of which he was a part, then, and not until then, will the northwest be able to measure the full extent of its loss.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. Vol. VI. Miscellaneous Papers, 1672-1865. Published by the Virginia Historical Society, 1887.

THE work done by the Virginia Historical Society in preserving and making available information touching the early days of our country, much of which would otherwise have been lost, is of a character the value of which cannot be overestimated. Its collection of a library of nearly fourteen thousand titles, of thousands of autographs, and of numerous relics of the past, gives it that which no money or labor expended at this period could purchase. Not the least valuable among its labors for the public good is the publication of these valuable historical collections. The volume just issued contains much information covering points of various character between the years named in its title.

PIONEER HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE; from 1833 to 1841. By James S. Buck, Milwaukee. Vol. I.

MILWAUKEE UNDER THE CHARTER. By the same. Vols. II, III and IV.

In the above books, Mr. James S. Buck has preserved a mass of information which must stand as a guide during all time for those who wish to write with accuracy of statement concerning the city and section of which he treats. The author has not sought to write history, but to set down the annals of his day and generation in such terse and comprehensive form as will serve as a guide to others. He was a part of much of which he wrote,

and has hardly made a statement that has not been endorsed by others who were with him during Milwaukee's early days. He was one of the first residents of the little town which he has seen expand into a great city, and is still in active life, with memory unimpaired, and all his mental faculties on the alert. With Mr. Buck the preparation of these volumes has been a labor of love; and his work has been crowned with the production of four volumes that ought to find a place in every historical library in the land.

THE FRENCH IN THE ALLEGHENY VALLEY. By T. J. Chapman, M. A. W. W. Williams, Cleveland, Publisher.

THE Allegheny valley is historic ground, and the scenes enacted within it when two great nations were striving for its mastery and possession, were such that only proper authentication can save them from being regarded as among the creations of romance. The Frenchman and the Englishman had cast covetous eyes upon it, and upon the vast unexplored wilderness into which "La. Belle Riviere" led as a safe and convenient highway. Against their encroachments stood the Indian, the owner of the soil; and not the least thrilling among these chapters of American history are those which tell of the efforts made by the mutual foes from across the sea to win his allegiance and support to one side or the other. The readers of this MAGAZINE have perused a number of articles that have cast light upon this dark and bloody period, and the announcement

cannot but be hailed with pleasure that their author, Mr. T. J. Chapman of Pittsburgh has collected them, with others bearing upon the same theme, into a book just issued under the above title. He has given years of study and personal investigation to his task, and this is the first monograph yet published upon this subject—that of French occupation of the Allegheny valley. Commencing with Celoron's voyage down the Allegheny, when this valiant knight of the Order of St. Louis was dispatched by the governor-general of Canada, in 1749, to take constructive possession of the Ohio valley by passing down the river, he relates the movements of the French in 1753, and then passes onward to the consideration of George Washington's memorable visits to these wilds. The scope of Mr. Chapman's work can be understood somewhat from a citation of several chapters of his book. "The Fall of

Fort Duquesne," "Fort Pitt," "The Siege of Fort Pitt," "The Northern Posts," "Weiser's Mission to the Ohio," "The Stolen Plate," "Early Virginia Claims in Pennsylvania," and others of like character and upon similar themes. The author, to briefly state the truth, has furnished in this book a complete and wonderfully interesting history of the movements of the French in the valley, and has left little to be told in relation thereto. It is a valuable contribution to the history of the great west, and especially commends itself to those who inhabit this historic section with little knowledge of the great part it has taken in the past. The book will be furnished, postpaid, at one dollar and twenty-five cents. Address either W. W. Williams, the publisher, at Cleveland, Ohio, or T. J. Chapman, the author, at No. 20 Crawford street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

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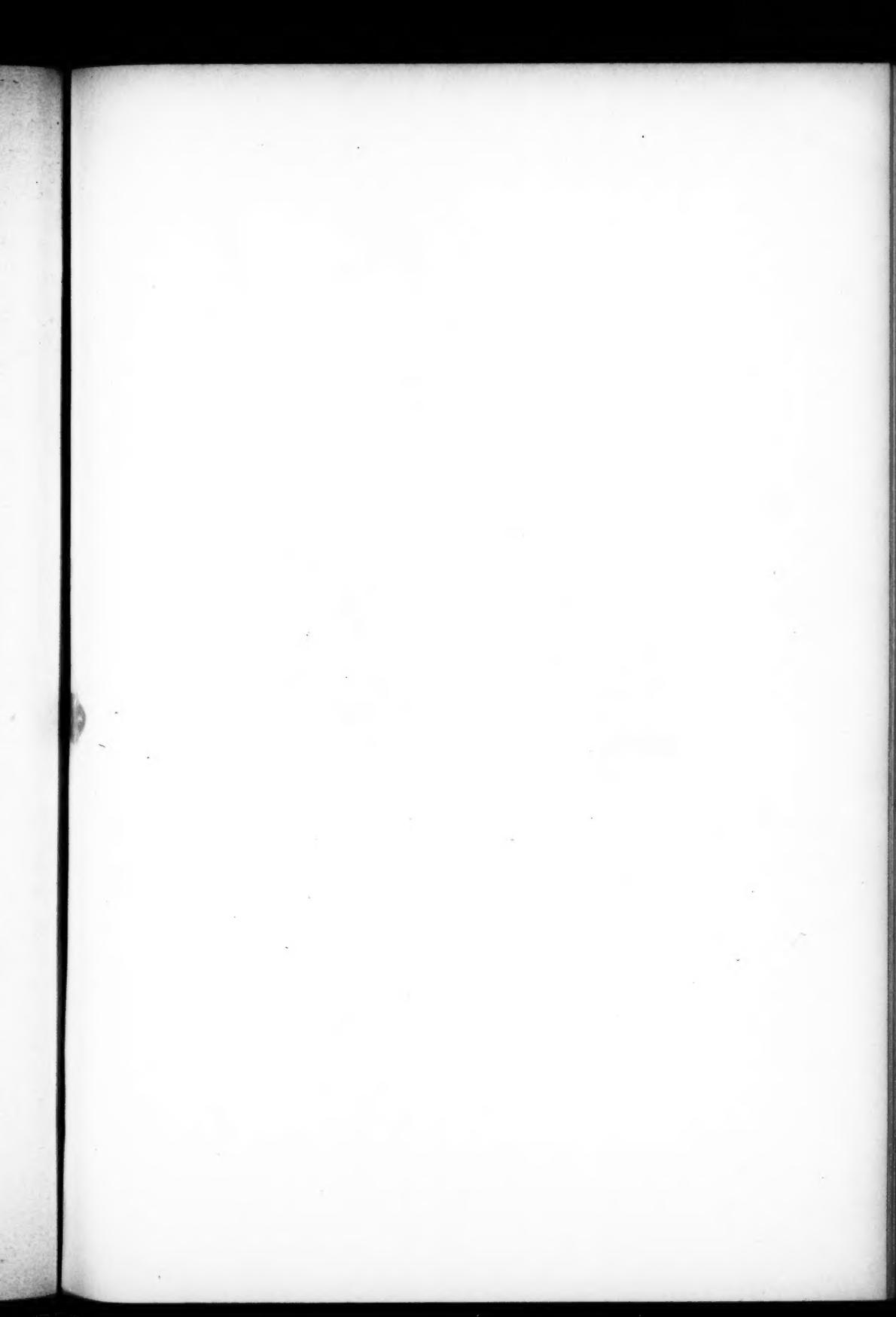
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